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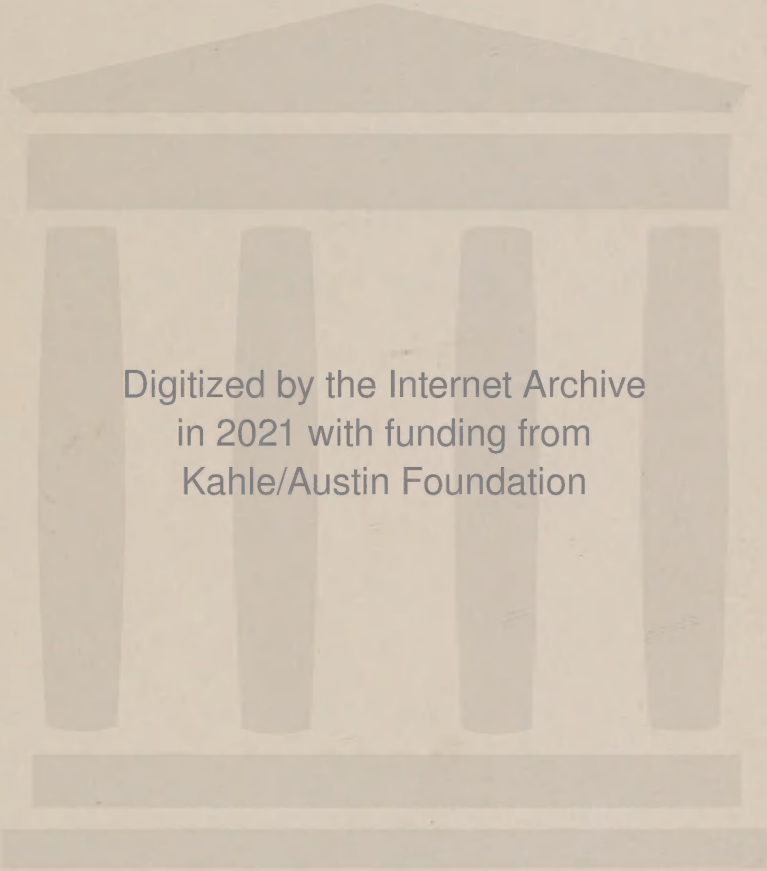




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PROCEEDINGS OF THE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF SOCIAL WORK



Elizabeth Wisner

PROCEEDINGS OF THE
NATIONAL CONFERENCE ^{on}
" Social Welfare,
OF SOCIAL WORK
" Social Welfare Forum.

SELECTED PAPERS
SEVENTY-FIRST ANNUAL MEETING
CLEVELAND, OHIO
MAY 21-27, 1944



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FOREWORD

THE 1944 *Proceedings* of the National Conference of Social Work presents papers selected from those presented at the Seventy-first Annual Meeting of the Conference, held in Cleveland in May, 1944. The announced purpose of this "War Conference" was to help social work to "contribute its utmost to winning the war—and establishing a just and lasting peace." In accordance with this aim, the attention of the Conference was directed primarily to pressing problems of the war and of the peace to follow. Only a few speakers dealt primarily with the growing body of technical experience in methods of social work, except as this is reflected in the approach to wartime problems. For such papers, the reader must consult past volumes of the *Proceedings* and, we trust, future ones.

The Editorial Committee charged with the selection of manuscripts for publication was composed of Paul T. Beisser (St. Louis), Florence Hollis (New York City), and Edwin Eells (Chicago), Chairman; and included as *ex officio* members the President of the Conference, Elizabeth Wisner (New Orleans), the Editor of the *Social Work Yearbook*, Russell H. Kurtz (New York City), and the General Secretary of the Conference and Editor of the *Proceedings*, Howard R. Knight. Mr. Beisser was unable to meet with the committee, and his place was taken by Robert K. Lane (New York City).

The committee reviewed all manuscripts submitted by the authors, as presented at the general sessions, section meetings, and special committee meetings of the Conference, including also the meetings set up by the wartime service organizations at the request of the Program Committee. In accordance with past procedure, papers read before associate groups affiliated with the Conference were not considered for publication. In making its selection of material for the permanent record, the committee was faced with unusual difficulty, due to the large number of papers which met the established criteria of timeliness, pertinence, authenticity, and significance for the present day and for future records. At the same time, wartime paper restrictions limited the size of the volume. Under these circumstances, it scarcely needs to be reiterated that

the omission of any manuscript is in no sense a reflection on its value as a part of the Conference program.

In order to meet this limitation of space in part, the committee made a departure from the policy of publishing papers only in their entirety, in the case of those submitted by the American Red Cross, the United Seamen's Service, and the United Service Organizations. Each of these organizations held one meeting at which its current program was presented in several papers, the series making a unit from which it was impossible to select one or two papers as most significant. The committee therefore, after consultation with the national offices of these organizations, requested each of them to prepare a single paper which would include, in briefer compass, the significant facts given by the various speakers.

The committee also voted to add to the amount of material that could be published by slightly decreasing the leading between lines, thus reversing the trend of previous years toward a more attractive, easily read volume. This was done with regret, and it is to be hoped that future editorial committees will not find it necessary to follow the example.

It must be emphasized again that the Conference is an open forum for the free discussion of problems related to social welfare, and that divergent viewpoints are welcomed. Therefore the publication of a manuscript does not imply endorsement of the opinions stated, either by the Editorial Committee or by the Conference, nor does the exclusion of a manuscript imply lack of endorsement.

Following the custom of recent years, the contents of the *Proceedings* have been arranged under topics of reader interest rather than in the order given in the Conference program. In the Appendixes, however, will be found the program printed in full, together with the minutes of the Conference business sessions, the text of the Constitution and By-Laws, and author and subject Indexes.

The Editorial Committee wishes to acknowledge its indebtedness to the authors who submitted manuscripts, to the section chairmen who assisted in the evaluation of papers, and to Mrs. W. Burton Swart, of Columbia University Press, who again discharged the highly responsible task of editing the manuscripts in final form for publication.

EDWIN EELLS

Chairman, Editorial Committee

Chicago, Illinois
September 30, 1944

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WAR AND THE SOCIAL SERVICES

By ELIZABETH WISNER

IN 1943 a well-known student of English political and economic institutions, Harold J. Laski, wrote the following words about the present war:

Twice in a lifetime now the youth of the world has been sent to die in battle in the passionate assurance that thereby they would secure the promise of a richer life to those who survived, and twice youth has gone to the abyss in the faith that the richer life would be forthcoming. No one who remembers the millions to whom the first world war was a high adventure doomed to a frustration which made the inter-war years mean and cold and empty can bear even to suspect that the faith of youth can be cheated a second time. No statesman dare ask that sacrifice unless he builds upon its exaction an achievement the dead would not think unworthy of their death.¹

To some this comment may seem too harsh a characterization of the inter-war years, and certainly in the United States many of those who fought in 1917-18—and their families—did not find the next decade, at least, “mean and cold and empty.” Moreover, during the inter-war period many positive gains were made in the extension of our health and welfare service. But in retrospect, overshadowing every other consideration will be the great depression and World War II. For the tragedy following the last war was that we would not accept the changes the war had brought, either on the international scene or in relation to our domestic problems; and so, in consequence, we withdrew from official participation in the League of Nations and enjoyed a brief period of prosperity, followed by serious unemployment in 1921. We then temporarily recovered, and entered into a brief period of wild speculation and false prosperity followed by the greatest economic slump of all times—with unemployment on so vast a scale that only the resources of the national government could even partially meet the needs of

¹ Harold J. Laski, *Reflections on the Revolution of Our Time*, pp. 418-19. Copyright, 1943, by Harold J. Laski. By permission of the Viking Press, Inc., New York.

the men, women, and children affected. Of course, some people during the 1930s wanted to deny the realities of widespread unemployment and criticized every attempt to mitigate its human consequences, but future historians will not deal lightly with that body of American opinion nor will they neglect to record our failure if this time we do not constructively face our domestic as well as our international obligations.

I do not assume that social workers or those concerned with our social services are alone the guardians of our domestic economy or of our foreign policy. As citizens and as taxpayers we are concerned with all matters of public policy. As social workers we join with the men and women of good will in America who are searching for ways of guaranteeing a decent life for all, and it has often been our privilege to be the translators of social action into social services whose day-in and day-out meaning bring "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear" to large numbers of our fellow citizens.

The 1917 meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, which convened in Pittsburgh the day after the initial military registration, was pervaded by the urgency of the war situation, and to quote the words of the president-elect, "no national conference has ever before been so charged with the sense of actuality, so invested with fateful significance, so informed with singleness of purpose, so wrought together with a quickening scheme of thought, of faith, of practice." Nineteen hundred and seventeen was indeed one of the turning points in the Conference. Only the year before it was still called the Conference of Charities and Corrections, and the change in name was, in a sense, prophetic of the enlarged responsibilities and wider horizons which World War I was to bring to social workers; for the growth of the social services in the next twenty-five years was to be far greater than it had been in the previous half-century. Few of the delegates could foresee clearly what these changes would be, and so the discussions embodied some concepts that were already inadequate to the time and some ideas suggestive of the future, while the majority of the papers were concerned with the current problems created by the war.

In the area of the public charities, as they were called, the traditional concern of the Conference with the state boards of charities and corrections, municipal welfare work, and better standards of almshouse care was uppermost, although a more modern note was sounded due to the enactment in 1917 of the Illinois Administrative Code. This move toward the consolidation of state boards and commissions and toward greater fiscal control, resulting from

the economy and efficiency movement of the previous decade, was to mark the shift from the boards of charities and corrections to state departments of public welfare. These state departments continued, on the whole, to be responsible for improvements in state institutional systems—basic relief needs of individuals were still grounded in the poor, or pauper, statutes, which had remained practically unmodified from colonial days. The poor laws, which have rightly been referred to as our earliest form of social security, had been designed to meet the needs of destitute persons living in a simple economy but they were ill adapted to a modern nation which had undergone a great period of immigration, the rise of a vast capitalistic structure, and a rapid industrialization with all its subsequent good and evil. Nation-wide statistics regarding the number of persons aided outside the almshouses and the total amount of public funds expended were not available, and so the perennial question, "Is poverty increasing?" could not be satisfactorily answered.

Although the 1917 Conference was little concerned with any change in the poor law system, new forms of public aid and various proposals for social insurance were discussed. The mothers' pension movement was by then six years old, and much of the conflict engendered among social workers over the proposal to make the care of dependent children and their mothers a public measure had died down sufficiently to permit the presentation of a critical and objective evaluation of the Illinois program. Compulsory health insurance was discussed at considerable length, and a standard bill drafted in 1915 had received such favorable comment that it was thought that "probably no piece of social legislation in this country has had more careful preliminary consideration." A rapidly increasing public demand for such legislation was cited and, strange as it may seem today, it was reported that the American Medical Association at its previous annual convention had adopted a resolution encouraging further study of the problem and instructing its Council on Health and Public Instruction to coöperate in the "moulding of these laws." The Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service was quoted as saying that "health insurance is the next great step in social legislation," and only the opposition of the private insurance companies appeared to stand in the way of the early adoption of health insurance systems in a number of the more progressive states.

All proposals for new forms of public aid and health insurance were, of course, at the state level, although an unprecedented type

of Federal legislation, namely, the amended War Risk Insurance Act of 1917, had been proposed and was to become a radical departure from the older systems of straight gratuities and pensions which had been provided for the veterans of previous wars. Based upon the philosophy of the workmen's compensation laws this measure provided for the various risks or hazards which war entails, including compensation in case of death or disability incurred in line of duty, a voluntary system of insurance, and medical, surgical, and hospital care, and anticipated the later program of vocational rehabilitation of the permanently disabled. In addition, a provision for allotments from the enlisted man's pay and family allowances from the Federal Treasury were important departures from any previous Federal legislation. The inclusion of allotments and family allowances stimulated a 1918 Conference speaker to describe the War Risk Insurance Act as "one of the most stupendous pieces of social work which has ever been enacted in this country." Conference delegates could not, of course, foresee the many subsequent changes in the act or that as late as 1936, nearly three thousand bills relating to veterans would be before the Congress of the United States.

In the area of private welfare, the charity organization societies expressed concern over the rapid expansion of the civilian relief program of the American Red Cross for, in general, private agencies were experiencing a loss of financial support. A national appeal in 1917 for the unprecedented sum of 100,000,000 dollars was announced by the vice chairman of the Red Cross, and some delegates to the Conference began to wonder whether their own agencies would be in existence at the end of the war. By the following year the division for which Mary Richmond had coined the term "Home Service" was described as reaching into hundreds and even thousands of small towns and rural communities, "where the county poorhouse or the undirected effort of church and neighbor to bring a little relief to the utterly destitute had been heretofore the only social agencies known." The expansion of case work services under Home Service was indeed an extraordinary development, for some thirty-seven hundred chapters had been organized and, taking into account the branches, service was extended to approximately fifteen thousand communities, only 300 of which had had any general family agency prior to the war. About thirty thousand workers, paid and volunteer, had been recruited for the program, and some eighteen hundred students had been exposed to institute training.

Another subject of great interest to the Conference of 1917 and

that of 1918 was the work of the new Division of Neuropsychiatry within the Army. The subject matter relating to the war neuroses was to have wide influence upon the practice of social work. The breakdown in child labor standards and the problems created by the employment of women in war industries, then as now, were matters of serious concern.

Then, as now, the Negro's participation in the war effort highlighted the inconsistencies in current war slogans. A "Negro Memorial on the Rights of Man" to the President, members of the Cabinet and Congress, and the governors of the states, signed by influential Negroes from every part of the United States, included a sharp indictment of the deprivation of civil liberties suffered by Negroes, particularly in the South, and called for a recognition of the Negro as a "sovereign American citizen entitled to equal rights for suffrage, education and protection before the law." The exodus of Negroes from the South to the industrial regions of the North, which was to continue until the depression and to grow apace during the present war, was noted.

Then, as now, Conference members were challenged by the changes taking place in England, which had by 1918 experienced four years of war and where plans for postwar reconstruction were under way. The manifesto of the British Labour Party entitled "Labor and the New Social Order" was not only presented to the Conference, but was widely discussed in the liberal journals of the day. The party's four-point program included as its first demand a minimum standard of living which would provide for decency and health for all the people of Britain—a proposal which has been restated in part by Sir William Beveridge in his 1942 report, "Social Insurance and Allied Services." In the main, the British Labour Party's program seemed reasonable and enlightened, and confidence and hope in the future appeared to be justified.

By 1919 the reaction had come. Serious limitations on freedom of speech and assembly were not uncommon, and there were even strenuous efforts made to re-enact a new sedition bill and to make it applicable to conditions of peace. Most efforts to enact modest social reforms were labeled as Bolshevist in origin, and Security Leagues and Defense Societies appeared ready to take over. One hundred percent Americanism, undefined, was the keynote of the hour, and many demobilized soldiers appeared to believe that they had become, not only the guardians of the patriotic instincts of the American people, but the guardians of their morals as well. Industrial unrest was acute. A large part of organized labor, which had

accepted the war as its own democratic struggle, now found that many employers were opposed to any form of collective dealing with employees. The United States Employment Service, established in the Department of Labor to service the war effort, had already suffered drastic cuts in appropriation, and its activities were largely restricted to the placement of veterans and farm workers. "Jobs for all" had been the slogan, but by 1919 unemployment was increasing, while the prices of many commodities continued to rise above the highest war levels. The election of President Harding in 1920 marked the turn from any efforts toward reconstruction back to "normalcy," and his Unemployment Conference in 1921, when it was estimated that between three and one-half and five and one-half million persons were unemployed, did not go much beyond urging the appointment of local emergency committees to deal with the problem.

In retrospect, the immediate postwar span appears to have been one of political reaction and fear of any type of social experimentation. The fact that these years not only encompassed the end of the war, and were colored by the postwar psychology, but were concurrent with the Russian Revolution is not without significance. A similar reaction created by the French Revolution upon the minds of the members of the English Parliament has been frequently pointed out by historians. Many regarded our postwar period of panic as regrettable and wondered why as a nation we were not more confident that our essential American institutions were durable and would survive.

The series of pamphlets issued in 1943 by the Russell Sage Foundation serve to remind us of our participation in relief efforts in foreign countries both during and after the last war. Americans can take considerable pride in their record of voluntary aid to victims of famine and war in foreign lands, for this record began long before World War I. One of the most notable of the early figures in the sphere of international relief is that of the great Bostonian, Samuel Gridley Howe, who has also been called the father of public welfare administration in this country. His work in the Greek Revolution, or the War of Independence, as it is now called, provides interesting reading. Sailing to Greece in 1825 shortly after receiving his degree from the Harvard Medical School, he not only served as a surgeon in the Greek Army, but actively fought with small guerilla bands against the enemy. Later he distributed supplies sent from America, returned to this country and raised \$60,000, no small sum in those days, and then went back to Greece to carry

on various relief and colonization projects. Altogether, Dr. Howe devoted about five years of his very useful life to the Greek cause, and undoubtedly, this experience greatly influenced him in his subsequent choice of a career which was to make such a lasting contribution to American public welfare.

Another early episode in foreign relief was concerned with the work of the American Red Cross in the Russian famine of 1891-92. The impulse to help, so the story goes, sprang up in several American cities, but it was the women of Iowa who stimulated the collection of 225 carloads of corn which were triumphantly sent on to the Eastern seaboard amidst much rejoicing. Railroad companies gave free transportation, and although Congress finally failed to make an appropriation for shipment of the food across the seas, citizens of Washington came forth and collected the money to charter a steamship to carry the cargo to Russia. At Riga more than two hundred peasants, it is said, waited on the docks for two days to help unload the grain from America—grain not for themselves, but for the famine victims in the interior 3,000 miles away. And so the Iowa corn finally reached the starving Russians in that remote area beyond the Ural Mountains.

The work of the American Red Cross in World War I and in the famine in China, the work of the Near East Relief, of the American Relief Administration, and of the American Friends Service Committee down through the Spanish War and in France as late as 1941-42 provide a notable story of American aid abroad. The long record of the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee and their many campaigns for assistance to war sufferers and distressed minority groups need not be repeated here. We are concerned, however, with present and future plans for American participation in foreign relief and rehabilitation. Special training courses and institutes are being held, and a body of literature on the subject is beginning to emerge. There is, as there was in the last war, a widespread conviction that large-scale relief measures must be undertaken in Europe and elsewhere. An untold number of persons need food, clothing, and medical care, and many thousands of children are homeless. A situation without parallel in human history exists today, and no piecemeal solution will do.

Although many volumes on the administration of foreign relief were published after the last war, a thoroughly comprehensive and objective analysis of the work of the various commissions is still lacking. From the statement of competent observers, however, it is evident that in spite of much magnificent effort the appalling

needs in Europe were only partially met. This was inevitable, for as Jane Addams says in her invaluable little book *Peace and Bread*, the demand could be met adequately only if the situation were treated on an international basis, the nations working together wholeheartedly to fulfill a world obligation. She goes on to point out that "during the first year after the war, five European cabinets fell, due largely to the grinding poverty resulting from the prolonged war." Although it had seemed reasonable to expect that the experience gained by the Allied Nations in greatly increasing the wartime production and distribution of food would be used to meet the needs of the deprived peoples quickly and adequately, this was not done. The Paris Peace Conference limited its discussions largely to political issues, and as one observer remarked: "It was an extraordinary fact that starving Europe was the one subject upon which it had been impossible to engage the attention of the 'big four' throughout their long deliberations. Yet in the popular discussions of the future of the League the feeding of the people appeared constantly like an unhappy ghost that would not down."

The British Labour Party at its annual conference in 1919 demanded the lifting of the blockade and the granting of credits to enemy as well as to liberated countries to enable them to obtain the food and raw materials essential to their own reconstruction, and urged the feeding of all children without regard to the political affiliation of their parents. The French trade unionists, some two-and-a-half million of them, taxed themselves regularly to help feed the hungry children of Austria. In all the victorious countries the conscience of the common man was aroused, but the tragedy lay in the failure quickly and effectively to mobilize the latent good will and the necessary resources for the job that needed to be done. Finally, in 1921, the League of Nations formulated a program for the repatriation of prisoners, the relief of Russian refugees, the protection of children, and general relief work in Europe which, although tardy, inaugurated a new era.

It is also pertinent to recall the fact that the terms of the armistice negotiated between the Allies and Germany provided for the maintenance of the blockade against German merchant ships although it was contemplated that Germany would be provisioned by the Allies during the period of the armistice. The agreement that food would be made available was not quickly implemented, and there is evidence that the issue of the food blockade seared the memories of the German people more than the privations they had suffered because of military necessities. The efforts directed against the block-

ade by Herbert Hoover, as Allied Director of Relief as well as his attempts to bring into Germany food for which that country was prepared to pay, should not be forgotten; for Mr. Hoover maintained that the Allies had not been fighting women and children and should not do so after the war. It should also be remembered that Congress in appropriating \$100,000,000 for European relief in 1919 passed an amendment framed by Senator Lodge which prohibited the use of these funds in the ex-enemy countries and, therefore, relief measures in Germany were carried on through the voluntary efforts of the American Society of Friends. I like to recall that along with the supplies which this organization distributed went this message: "To those who suffer in Germany with a message of good will from the American Society of Friends (Quakers) who for 250 years and also all through this great war, have believed that those who were called enemies were really friends separated by a great misunderstanding."

In the sphere of American governmental action the later Congressional provisions for Russian relief during the great famine of 1921 and the administration of this program by the American Relief Administration down through 1923 should not go unmentioned. Mainly, I have referred to the failure of official action, for it is apparent that a similar relief problem of even greater magnitude will exist after this war, and the problem can be tackled only through the coöperation of the American government and the United Nations. That this is to be the policy is, fortunately, indicated by the establishment of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which should be able to provide the basis for broad financial participation, planning, and the administration of relief well in advance of the coming armistice.

That the immediate postwar span was one of political reaction and fear of any type of social experimentation was amply illustrated on the domestic front where many forces raged against those who sought to control the labor of children through the ratification of the Child Labor Amendment and denounced as "un-American" those who through the United States Children's Bureau sought to lower our infant and maternal mortality rates. Among social workers, social reform or social action was largely shoved out of the spotlight by the findings of psychiatry and psychoanalysis, the application of which resulted in an overemphasis upon personal inadequacy and individual adjustment to the "realities" of social life, "realities" that were far too often conceived of in static terms. The general feeling that all was well in the economic and social spheres

was all-pervasive. The national wealth had enormously increased—the United States was indeed the richest of all nations. Although we had only 8 percent of the world's population, it was reported that we drove over 80 percent of the automobiles in the world.

It was, therefore, somewhat disquieting to learn in 1927 that unemployment appeared to be increasing. Some thought that perhaps as many as four million able-bodied persons were jobless. More exact estimates were not available, for we had not taken the trouble to provide any nation-wide method of registering the unemployed as had many European countries, and unemployment insurance and a well-organized system of public employment offices were largely regarded as not only unnecessary, but actually harmful. This was the period during which the community chests raised increasing amounts of money, and the general impression gained ground that voluntary giving was the best method of meting out basic welfare needs. However, vast areas were untouched by the chest movement, and the sum of \$64,000,000 raised in 1927 by the 297 different chests was far from being adequate to meet the minimum welfare needs in the community chest cities.

It is necessary to review the period of the 1930s and '40s. It is, however, apparent that so far as our welfare services are concerned, we entered the present war with greater resources than were available to us in 1917. The Social Security Act of 1935 is an historic piece of social legislation even though our total social security system is not yet fully implemented in many states and localities. The measures for public assistance, unemployment compensation, and old age and survivors benefits, incomplete as the coverage is today, provide against certain hazards of life a beginning of security which no responsible political party would dare to abolish. The system of state employment offices, nationalized in administration for the duration of the war, have demonstrated their essential service to a highly industrialized nation. The child welfare titles of the Social Security Act have greatly stimulated many states to expand their child welfare, crippled children's, and maternal and child health services, and in some of the more retarded areas wholly new statewide programs have been initiated under the act. Rural public health services and local housing projects have likewise expanded through Federal funds and Federal leadership.

Such legislation has already done more than relieve individual cases of distress, important as that is; such legislation has greatly stimulated the energies and the social inventiveness of the people in our states and local communities and has encouraged them to em-

bark upon a whole series of constructive community measures. For example, aid to the needy blind may be viewed by some as "just relief" to individual blind persons. However, when such a public aid provision is properly integrated into a forward-moving public welfare program, it tends to stimulate special training programs, sight-saving classes, and other measures useful in the prevention of blindness. Old age assistance becomes more than financial grants to aged individuals, for any totaling of the problems of the aged directs attention to the unmet needs of the chronically ill, and old persons generally are benefited. Public housing has done more than simply house a number of families who formerly lived in substandard dwellings. Public housing is tangible evidence of what can be done to provide decent dwelling places and has stimulated a demand for better housing for all the people.

The efficient operation of all the programs under the Social Security Act has been hampered from the beginning by the lack of enough technically equipped personnel at the state and local levels. This is an interesting discovery for a nation justifiably proud of its technical and professional skills. We have had the highest ratio of physicians to the population of any nation and the largest number of students attending universities and colleges, both at the undergraduate and the graduate level, and a sizable number of professional schools of social work and public health nursing and other specialized types of training. And yet we lack in almost every area of administration and professional service under our social security programs both the quantity and the quality of personnel demanded by this legislation. Certain factors may be said to be responsible. It cannot reasonably be expected that persons will prepare for non-existent public services. The tremendous lag in our governmental social services and the general attitude in the past toward public service greatly influenced young persons, both in their choice of a career and in their preparation for a particular service. The absence of genuine merit systems proved a retarding factor. Moreover, the development of the social security programs has suffered, as have all other public services, through loss of personnel due to the war. But even if the war had not come, it is apparent that the full benefit from the funds available could not reasonably be expected for a number of years—not until personnel could be recruited and, in many instances, given not only basic professional training, but the additional specialized preparation and experience in public welfare administration which these programs require. Nevertheless, the picture is not too discouraging, for we have reason to believe

that the programs under the Social Security Act will be cumulatively more effective as time goes on.

Proposals for any extension of the Social Security Act have met with opposition or inertia, and in view of the war psychology this is perhaps not surprising. There remains, however, the whole question of future Federal legislation in welfare matters. Coming as I do from the Deep South, which is assumed to be the stronghold of the State rights doctrine, I may be unduly conscious of the need to defend the modern trend toward "federalism." The issue of centralization versus decentralization in governmental responsibility is the perennial political issue in the United States, and in an era of fascist dictatorship, it is easy to arouse fears that we are tending toward an authoritarian or overcentralized system of government. Complaints against the bureaucrats, complaints that there are too many Federal bureaus and too much confusion in Washington, undoubtedly have grounds. The average person, however, would find it difficult to decide what is "too much," in view of the prosecution of a vast war for which we were ill prepared, but it would be unfortunate if the present confusion clouded our judgment as to the proper distribution of governmental responsibility for various welfare needs. Have we not learned that unemployment is a national problem? Can any other level of government deal effectively with this problem? Within the framework of the Social Security Act is there any reason why dynamic Federal-state coöperation cannot be further developed? Must we not devise means that are adequate to meet the minimum welfare needs of the entire nation regardless of the vast differences in per capita income and wealth among the several states? Do we not need the framework of national legislation, the increased use of Federal funds, and a partnership of the three levels of government, Federal, state and local, to give our social security program meaning in the lives of the people for whom it was enacted?

During the inter-war years, other important gains included a great increase, both in the quantity and in the quality of our professional literature and in the current social data available. In addition, we have the findings and recommendations of the 1940 White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, the findings and recommendations of the President's interdepartmental Committee to Coördinate Health and Welfare Activities, those of its Technical Committee on Medical Care, and the National Resources Planning Board report, to mention only a few of the more comprehensive inventories of our social and health needs. Then, too, during the

past decade or so the schools of social work have made substantial gains and greatly strengthened their curricula and field work supervision in the face of inadequate financial support.

Voluntary effort does not appear to have been adversely affected by the growth of the public social services; in fact, many of the private agencies have been able to carry on their true functions more effectively. The old issue of public versus private social work has been lessened, if not completely eliminated, and the best leaders in the voluntary field see that the services of their agencies are not a substitute for basic governmental services, but supplementary to them. In fact, the fine leadership and backing given by many private agency staffs and board members to the newer public developments have been of inestimable value. During this war, case work, group work, and community organization skills have been found useful in new settings and in many communities that were formerly untouched by professional services. Coöperation between organized labor and social agencies has been strengthened in a way that should prove to be of mutual gain.

Rightly, or wrongly, we have assumed that there was a kind of inevitability in regard to progressive measures, and social workers will be inclined, I believe, to push forward vigorously in behalf of sound social legislation. In reviewing the period of reaction toward social reforms that followed the last war, it was not my intention to predict that our second postwar period need follow the same trend. Instead, a generation that has seen two major conflicts should be able to profit from past experience and to find a better way of solving problems than that of war and the aftermath it creates.

There is one more problem which needs mention. Now, as in 1918, our attention is focused upon the issue of postwar employment. Today's slogan is "full employment"; in the last war it was "jobs for all." The difference in the two slogans has significance, for today our miraculous capacity to produce the weapons of war, not only for our own military machine, but in aid of our allies, forces us to think in terms of full employment. There is no road back to a restricted economy that will not lead to widespread unemployment which, in the end, may prove disastrous to all the people. It is, therefore, not merely a patriotic gesture toward our fighting men that the question of full employment has become of major concern to all thinking Americans; and that we are concerned is evidenced by the numerous discussions among business groups, the reports and recommendations of many national associations and

special committees, and the publication and discussion of proposals *ad infinitum*. In no other way, surely, can we discharge our obligation to the returning members of the armed forces so fully as to see that unemployment is prevented. Moreover, employment, while it does not solve all our interracial problems, does provide one avenue of hope for our Negro citizens, who are frequently the first to be discarded in times of a contracting economy. The partially disabled and other handicapped and marginal groups whose ability to secure jobs during the present war has meant so much—all these have little to look forward to if unemployment is to follow the peace. On the other hand, we hope that when peace comes many of the young boys and girls who are now employed will return to school. Such a hope, we know, is easier to express than to see fulfilled, in view of the demoralizing effect of wartime wages and wartime influences on these young people.

What is meant by "full employment?" Is it just another war slogan? We know that there is already a large body of literature on this subject and that in Great Britain, Canada, and this country the phrase is used to describe an economy that provides productive jobs to all persons able and willing to work whereby they can exercise their energy and skill for the prosperity and welfare of the people in general. "Full employment" implies an optimum production of goods and services for peacetime use and an increase in the standard of living for many families. The maintenance of full employment involves national planning in respect to our fiscal, political, industrial, and agricultural policies, and on this question of national planning there are, of course, opposing schools of thought as to the degree to which government should participate. Whatever the solution may be in regard to governmental controls, we learn from the *Social Security Bulletin* of March, 1944, that in January, 1944, in a period which may be characterized as one of "full employment," \$5,300,000 was paid in unemployment benefits, and that this sum represented the largest monthly amount paid out since July, 1943, and the greatest relative increase over the previous month since January, 1942. It is clearly inconceivable that we can anticipate that every able-bodied worker will be at all times employed even if the economy of full employment is maintained after the war. Prevention of unemployment and measures designed to deal with the total question are infinitely complicated, and I make no pretense of covering the question here. But I believe that we will agree with our British friends when they say that "unemployment is a disease of modern

society which must be eradicated" and that we will support sound measures to achieve that end.

Finally, it is clearer to us now than it was in 1918 that our health and welfare services are inextricably bound up with the kind of political and economic order which lies ahead, and this means that they have become of greater significance to our democratic way of life than were the older charities and philanthropies. We know that the period of history which comprises the great depression and World War II cannot be ignored, and the clock cannot be turned back. The mobilization of some eleven million young men and women in the armed forces, the migration of millions of families, the employment of millions of men and women in our war industries, the increase in the national income to astronomical estimates, the war casualties—these things are happening, and they cannot be ignored by our political leaders as though they had not happened. Nor can we safely make use of psychological warfare and, in doing so, raise the hopes of deprived persons in this country through war slogans without serious consequences if fear and frustration are to govern our national policy when the peace comes.

Social workers cannot, either as individuals or as a group, shape in its entirety the peace for which we long. We can, however, contribute our small share to the shaping of that peace, for we know that when "all men's good" becomes "each man's rule," then and then only will peace "lie like a shaft of light across the land."

A NATION WORTHY OF HEROES

By MAX LERNER

MOST OF US will have to grow up, if we are not already mature, in the decade to come, because we shall have to think in terms of an America fit to receive the 10,000,000 young men and women who will be coming back into it.

They have been made into good soldiers. But they have not been informed about the nature of the world for which they are fighting and the great issues of the life and death of that world which are at stake. They have not been given the truth on the role of labor in the war factories at home. Comparing their own sacrifices to those of the civilians, they are obsessed with a sense of self-pity. We have muffed a great educational opportunity with perhaps the greatest potential adult education audience that we have ever had. We must not delude ourselves as to what will be going on in the minds of those young men when they come back. Many of them will be bewildered, many of them bitter, most of them will have the sense of having gone through an exacting and intense experience, and all of them will feel—however inarticulately—that this should have been somehow made worth while for them by the nature of the America to which they return.

There can be no question about the resources we have for this task. The problem is not to get the resources, either in materials or in men. The problem is to organize them with wisdom and clarity, with science and courage. The problem is not to flee from the machine nor to destroy it, but to master it.

We must remember that the whole pace of our life will be conditioned by the revolution of the machine. A Democrat can argue with a Republican, and a Republican with a Democrat. A liberal can argue with a conservative, and a conservative with a liberal. But none can argue with the machine. It has an ineluctable pace which it imposes upon us. It cares nothing about private property or "the free enterprise economy," about government control, about individualism or collectivism. It cares only that we should feed into it materials and resources and labor so that out of it will come goods

and services. It cares only that we should feed enough things into it so that out of it shall come enough things. It eats men. For unless we are able so to contrive our institutions as to keep the machine busy, the machine will keep our men idle. And a machine which keeps our men idle is one which will ultimately destroy, both our capacity to master it and our capacity to create a decent social environment.

We have learned what to do with the machine in wartime. We have learned that if we want to get guns and tanks and planes off the belt line, we must plan our controls so that we can muster all our resources and manpower and keep the machines moving. Planning the machines in that way makes even better sense in peacetime than it does in wartime. It is planning for life and not for death.

The men who will be returning from war will not lack skills. The Army will have taught them skills, that they had never known before. The problem is not whether they will have the skills, but whether those skills will be used.

There are two current theories about the American postwar economy. One is that the pent-up demand for civilian commodities will burst out with volcanic energy and cause a postwar economic boom. The other is that since we have been able, even without 10,000,000 men, to produce \$150,000,000,000 worth of goods and services a year, we shall not have jobs for the returning men. One is the theory that there will be a postwar boom; the other, that there will be a postwar depression.

I incline to the less optimistic view; yet whichever turns out to be true, that truth will be only an immediate one. The big long-range economic tasks will still remain whether we have an immediate postwar boom or an immediate postwar depression. And the basic economic thinking will remain to be done.

On this there are four broad points of view which are being presented to Americans. One is that we have to release ourselves from government controls, hand back our \$15,000,000,000 worth of war plants to private enterprise and the monopolies, go back to an economy such as we had under Harding and Coolidge and Hoover. The second is that we have to enforce the antitrust laws and create a genuine competitive situation. The third is that we have to plan—that a Harding economy is not enough and that even antitrust enforcement is not enough—but that the planning must be left to the big industrial empires of America, and that the government is to act only within a restricted area to be determined by these em-

pires. The fourth is that if we are to have the full organization of our productive resources, we must do whatever is required of us to do. We must fight the trusts to the extent that fighting them is necessary. We must plan within industries and between industries to the extent that planning is necessary. We must spend and tax for public works to the extent that those are necessary. In short, that the problem is to set our goals and then to find whatever means may be necessary to fulfill them.

Here are the four viewpoints. Of these, the one that makes most sense to me is the last. But the one that is getting the most publicity, behind which the great resources of the advertising profession are being placed, is the one that is called a "free enterprise economy."

If those who talk about a free enterprise economy are serious about what they say—and I take them at their word—I quarrel only with the means they demand to achieve those ends. If they believe in freedom, then let us have freedom for the small businessman, so that he can survive in a world dominated by the leviathan corporation. Let us have patents put in the public domain on a royalty basis, so that the independent entrepreneur will be able to survive against the huge monopolies and cartels which have thus far cornered most of the patents for new industrial processes. If they believe in freedom, then let us have freedom for the worker so that he can have genuine collective bargaining, and union security. If they believe in freedom, then let us have freedom for the farmer so that his living standards can be lifted by collective action and maintained at that point; let us get the farmer to see that his living standards cannot be kept at that point unless there is also genuine purchasing capacity in the hands of the working population. If they believe in freedom, then let us have freedom for the coöperatives which hold out the hope of collectivism without statism. If they really mean freedom, then we take them at their word and we say: These are the objectives of economic freedom; and these objectives can be met only by a people that has the boldness to use the necessary means.

What means? I turn to the lessons of our wartime economy. The industrialists say that it has performed miracles. I agree that it has. The industrialists say that it has outproduced the world. I agree that it has. Let us, then, cleave to the techniques and controls which enabled the wartime economy to perform miracles and to out-produce the world.

Those techniques are principally three: first, a genuine partnership between the people (acting through their government) and

management and labor; secondly, the opening up of new foreign markets in Russia, China, India, in Czechoslovakia, Norway, in Africa—new foreign markets which can be opened because of the help we give those peoples in purchasing the commodities we produce; and thirdly, the opening of a new home market by putting on a great public works program with the people's money and the people's taxes, so that the machines run and men are employed, and with their employment men are able to buy the products of the machine.

If we follow this triple formula, we shall get two things: We shall not have to worry about the pathos of unemployment—about seeing the capitalists' dream end in the flophouse and on the bread-line; we shall not have to worry about the terrible misery and tragedy of seeing one half of a nation free and the other dependent. And we shall have an America of which all of us can be genuinely proud.

I say this latter because the big area of a postwar public works program is one into which private enterprise has not yet adequately penetrated. It has been the no-man's land between business and government activity, with business unwilling to move into it because it could not do so profitably, and government afraid to move in because of the fear of drastic criticism. This is the area, for example, of public health, of the extension of educational facilities, of group medicine and health insurance, of new vocational schools and laboratories and equipment to be brought to communities all over the country, of giant power dams to give light and power at lower rates to millions of farmers' families, of reforestation projects to restore strength to our eroded soil, of slum clearance and rehousing projects to remove the scars from the face of America.

If a people is able to spend for battleships, tanks, and guns, then they can spend for power dams, hydroelectric facilities, reforestation and afforestation, slum clearance and housing projects, public health movements, group medicine, and educational facilities. I, for one, will continue to have a lingering sense of shame as an American so long as a single American child has to grow up with inadequate housing, stunted and deformed in body because his family and his community did not have the means to give him what he needed for physical health, stunted and deformed in mind because his family and his community were unable to give him the knowledge for which he thirsted and the understanding toward which he reached.

All of this will not be easy. It will require effective leadership, both in the nation and at the grass roots, a Congress with greater

stature than our present one, skills within the administrative agencies, vision on the part of the people. It will require an informed opinion, a press great enough to rise to the tasks required of it as our press thus far has not done. It will require a people who can face the voice of destruction within them—the voice which whispers that the best way of running the country is for the people to give up the effort of self-government and surrender themselves to a Fuehrer, that the British are perfidious, the Russians murderous atheists, Europe a foreign continent which America should either ignore or reduce by conquest. It is the voice which insinuates that Jews and Negroes and Catholics are inferior excrescences on our body politic, at best to be tolerated. It is the voice which tells us that we should line up with the bigness and power of the corporate structures and against the little men whose only strength is in their work and their skills and whose final integrity is in their freedom of mind. It is a healthy thing for Americans to learn that all these whisperings of destruction are exactly what the Nazis want us to believe, that all over the world they have equipped their agents and satellites with those scurrilities, that they are weapons more deadly than a Heinkel or a Messerschmitt or a rocket gun in killing our young men and stifling the democratic ideal which alone can give meaning to their death and life.

For these tasks of a militant democracy we shall need a mature people which has put childish things behind it and risen to man's estate—a people that does not condemn a political leader simply because he has shown the capacity for genuine growth, has spoken out frankly when other politicians hid their intentions; a people which, in the case of political leadership, does not give mediocrity a heroic quality, invest silence with sanctity, mistake a policeman's virtue for international leadership or budget balancing for national statesmanship. We shall need a people that does not have to wallow in a morass of race and religious hatred to get a sense of manliness—that does not have to spit on Negroes to get a feeling of white potency and white supremacy, and does not have to harry Jews in order to remember that the Christians outnumber them and could crush them if they wished. We shall need a people that does not fear ideas or the professors of ideas—a people not so enamored of materialism that it has to worship at the shrine of success. It will require people whose ruling groups do not have to keep their economy an unequal one in order to get the sense of being sovereign Americans.

Let us turn now to America's world perspectives. Sometimes I

feel as though we should recast our prayers so that they may run at least partially as follows:

Deliver us from the enemies of a United Nations' world. Deliver us from those who would split this United Nations' world into two, a capitalist world and a socialist world, and who—by driving this wedge between the two halves of the world—will give a chance for a new fascist thrust at world power.

Deliver us just as much from the friends of the United Nations, who want the peace to be a United Nations' peace but not a genuinely democratic one, who do not understand that there can be no genuine United Nations' peace unless it is based on a people's government in the liberated areas, and unless the old and rotten institutions are handled roughly.

Deliver us, thirdly, from the conditional internationalists, the men who think that America can once more write into the peace treaty and into the structure of the United Nations an escape clause—the men who say, "internationalism, yes, but not if we have to whittle down our national sovereignty or diminish by the slightest jot our freedom of national choice." As though any kind of national freedom of choice could exist in a world caught in catastrophic wars.

Deliver us, finally, from the blindness of economic power. As the big battalions move over the face of Europe and the Far East, along with them march the heavy blundering legions of economic power; and these legions lay their dead hands on the stirrings of new life everywhere. They act out of strength and arrogance, yes, but also out of fear—fear because they feel themselves encircled by things they cannot understand, and so they want to crush all the new stirrings in that world. To them, this war is not a war for freedom, but a strange interlude between two structures of power. And they mean to bridge that interlude, so that the new structure of economic power will be exactly like the old one. They mean to prevent us from building a genuine United Nations' world because the collective power of free peoples which such a world will represent will be big enough to overtower even the concentrated power of the cartels.

I have tried to talk not only in terms of my own convictions about a decent America and an orderly world, but also in terms of what I think the returning soldiers and sailors and airmen really want. Not many of them are politically literate, not many articulate. Yet if I know anything about these young men, I should say they want three things:

They want, first, an America in which the machines are not idle, in which their own skills are not left unused—an America great enough to use the techniques at its disposal for full production and employment.

Secondly, they want a world without war—a world which, having willed the ends of peace, is able to will the means also, even though those means include international force. They want a world in which this will have been made the last war.

And thirdly, they want a sense of belonging to something bigger than themselves, inklings of which they have begun to find in the Army. They want an America and a world in which they can thrust down their roots, in which they can feel wanted and used, for which they can have a fighting faith.

Are they going to get these in America? I do not know. That depends on whether we will use our collective will with greatness. But one thing I do know: If they do not get it, we shall enter one of the severest psychological crises in our national history, a psychological crisis in which our nation will not be divided into classes, but into those who were once in uniform and those who were not. This would introduce into our life a new factor—the intervention of a tight and compact group with military memories and military bitterness in the civilian affairs of our country.

As some of the soldiers return, we are already wrangling over the question of how we will divide a scarcity of jobs rather than thinking heroically in terms of how we are going to get fullness of production. Already some of our communities are beginning to pass laws and resolutions saying that returning veterans will get preference at the newsstands, preference as teachers in schools. They do not want that kind of preference, nor do we want that kind of preference for them. We do not want to place soldiers in situations in which they do not fit. The fact that a man once wore a uniform does not equip him to do something for which he has not been trained, and the fact that a man did not wear a uniform does not mean that he is to be sacrificed. One tragedy of our time is that we are already thinking of dividing up scarcity rather than of encompassing plenty. Another is that we think somehow that we can buy off the returning soldiers. I have been impressed by the complete unanimity with which our Congress has passed measures to give demobilization pay and bonuses and all kinds of vocational training to our soldiers. All of that is good. I am not against bonuses. If bonuses are the only thing we are going to give the soldiers, then in the name of everything holy, let's give them that. But I say, that it is a poor return

to a man who has fought for his country and his way of life to try to buy him off by giving him bonuses. If I understand these young men, they do not want to be veterans with bonuses; they want to be citizens with jobs. They want to be men who, when they come back home, find a useful place into which they can fit.

These, then, are the imperatives of our time: full production at home, international order abroad, and a democratic humanism within our own minds so that we can face the tasks of the future with a sense of greatness.

The techniques that we need to use are there. We have the economic techniques, the administrative techniques, the international techniques. The ideas are there—the ideas of freedom, democracy, equality, man's decency to man, world organization. What we require is only the will to transform both techniques and ideas into actuality.

I say to social workers, as the members of one of the most important professions in our country and time: You must work within this framework, and with this kind of fighting faith. The social worker must no longer see himself as a patcher-up of unconsidered trifles, a bearer of healing and consolation in a vale of tears. He must move from the realm of the pathetic to the realm of the heroic, from being a repairman to being a constructor. That does not mean leaving the field of social work to tackle vast revolutionary problems. It continues to mean hard work and painful, day-to-day work. But it also means no longer meekly accepting the framework and the handouts that are given by the less intelligent part of the community. It means asserting boldly and it means asserting without apology what the needs of the community are. It means demanding that those needs be fulfilled. It means using every means you have of persuasion and education and appeal, of browbeating and cajolery and of economic and political action, to get those communities' needs fulfilled.

There are some men who know about the machine and its needs, and there are some who know about the Army and its needs, and there are some who know about the mind and its needs, and there are some who know about the soul and its needs. But you are specialized in a different way. You are the people who know, or should train yourselves to know, about the human community and its collective needs.

There, you should say, are the imperatives—the things that the people of our town, our state, our region, our nation, simply must have. This is what adult human beings must have if they are to be

not clods or machine tenders but men. This is what a child must have if all the stirrings of tenderness and beauty and greatness in America are not to be crushed. We put this, you must say, not just in terms of food and housing and clothing and medical service, but also in terms of schooling and fun and creativeness and love, and a sense of belonging, and a sense of growth, and a sense of fullness of living. These, you must say, are not minimal needs. There can be no minimal needs in the thirst for knowledge and healthy comradeship for children, and the feeling they are loved, and collective tasks for them to do, and a sense of belonging to a larger whole. A child needs all of these that he can possibly get. These are not minima for the human animal; these are imperatives for the dignity of free men and women.

If you think and talk that way, and if you act on your thoughts and beliefs, you become the interpreters of the community to itself. You become the bridge between the community needs and the potentialities it has for meeting them. And if you do that, you will be helping to build an America fit for heroes to return to and to live in. Thus in the process you will find your own measure of the heroic which, even for the most ordinary of us, is so terribly important—to lift us out of ourselves, and to give life its savor and work its fulfillment.

THE FUTURE FOR SOCIAL WORK

By *LEONARD W. MAYO*

A DISCUSSION of "the future *for* social work" implies a consideration of the opportunities and obligations of social work in the near future; a discussion of "the future *of* social work" would invite a prophecy as to where we shall be and what we shall be doing twenty years hence. If we confine ourselves to outlining some of the main opportunities and obligations which face social work in the immediate future the task is difficult enough. The events of the past ten years have been of such significance and the cross tides of our affairs and those of the nation and the world have so intermingled that it requires more knowledge, insight, and analytical ability than most of us possess to do justice to such a task.

Though social work is the youngest profession, it is no exception to the rule that the first step in plotting the future is to attempt to understand the past. What, then, are some of the significant things social work has learned and accomplished during the last decade that suggest a design for living and serving in the next few years?

First of all, we have learned to wade into the flood tide of urgent community problems in order to be of practical and immediate help when the welfare of human beings is at stake. There has been less talk about our "areas of competence," and more about how we could help; less fear of "lowering standards," and a deepening conviction that the surest way to establish them is to demonstrate their worth; less possessiveness about our profession, and more realization that as social workers we do not have a corner on, nor the sole contribution to make to, the development of personality; far less coolness and suspicion in our relations with other professions and the general public, and more disposition to join hands with those without whom our unique contribution would be futile.

The services of social workers in relief and social security, in business, industry and labor, in the Red Cross and in the United Service Organizations, in the armed forces, in selective service, with the returned serviceman, and with the dispossessed and disinherited of our own and other lands have demonstrated again and again that

we can be effective in crises, that we can grapple with situations as we find them, and that we ask no quarter, no special privileges, and no protection. In our readiness to throw ourselves into the main stream of community problems, not blindly, but with discernment and skill, we have taken a long step toward that maturity that marks an individual or a profession as not only devoted and competent, but secure. It is a development, moreover, that establishes our kinship with those of all eras and professions who have learned to forget themselves in perpetual usefulness.

As a result, we have substantially improved our public relations. The cumulative value of our service in the rough and tumble of community life and our accomplishments in the treatment of family disorders, in adoptions, in foster home finding and placement, in group work and recreation, in public welfare developments and community organization gradually produced an understanding and general acceptance of social services. It is well to note that our progress is in direct proportion to our ability to understand ourselves, to put into words and, most important of all, into action, the principles in which we believe and for which we are prepared to stand. Our progress in public relations is also measured by the extent to which we have resolved within our own ranks relatively unimportant differences of opinion and centered our attention on real issues and opportunities for real service.

Even the casual observer will agree that newspapers and periodicals, radio, and the public platform give increasing evidence of the acceptance of social services as an integral part of community life. When we gave up trying to get everyone to understand everything about every aspect of social work and concentrated on creating needed social services we moved ahead. A wider acceptance of our philosophy will follow as we continue to be effective. We have learned too that we must not confuse acceptance of our services with acceptance of ourselves as social workers; for while the two are closely related, they are not one. Society, for example, recognizes the need for education, law, medicine, and engineering, but it does not forfeit the right to criticize the practitioners thereof. We must be resigned to the fact that public acceptance of a service inevitably means that those who conduct it will be subject to frequent and sometimes unfair criticism. This we must learn to bear with objectivity and serenity. Most important of all, we know that though we might retain all the Ivy Lees in the country as our public relations counselors, we could never circumvent the fundamental factor

in all social work interpretation, namely, the performance and the integrity of the individual social worker.

We are learning that adequate coördination and planning of social services demand a price. The price is a shift from the emphasis on agencies, auspices, and functional divisions to an emphasis on services, a flexible network of services in every community. We are learning that we have focused too long and too much on the functional differences between governmental and voluntary auspices, between case work and group work, between family and child welfare, and not enough on their complementary differences. We have said repeatedly that we need all of them, but we have acted at times as though some were superior to others. The war has shown us that without mobility and the full capacity to bring different and supplementary forces to bear in a unified manner on specific objectives, we lay ourselves open to deserved defeat.

That we are beginning to see the light in this respect may be due in part to our dawning comprehension of the relation of the parts to the whole. Our eyes are opening to the fact that the *raison d'être* of any specialty is the contribution it can make to the whole. The "whole" in our case is the individual, the family, the group, the community, the field of social work. This sense of the relation of the parts to the whole plus the demands of war are perhaps largely responsible for our present discernment relative to the important gaps in our services that are reflected in pronouncements of the Wartime Committee on Personnel and in current recommendations made to schools of social work. Prominent among these is the testimony that as a profession we lack sufficient administrative capacity and community organization knowledge and skill. It is safe to predict that these will be developed further, now that we begin to see the whole of social work and its basic core more clearly.

We have learned that a devoted, competent, and well-educated professional and volunteer personnel is the keystone in the social work arch. This is a clear confirmation of our earliest convictions. The rapid and trying events of the last two decades have established that basic principle beyond the shadow of doubt. We now have questions and problems to deal with concerning the "how" and "how much" of professional education and we shall always have them. They constitute the lifeblood of our educational vitality, but we have removed the "why" questions from our own ranks and almost entirely from the minds of the general public.

Finally, we have learned—by hard experience and research and with the help of other professions and disciplines—that to a substan-

tial extent social breakdown, like physical breakdown, is preventable. The physician knows how to eliminate tuberculosis; given funds and personnel and equipment he can do it in a decade. The engineer can virtually assure the prevention of breakdown in the structures created by his skill, and society demands that he build accordingly. The fact that delinquency, family disruption, mental illness, and other social ills are as subject to prevention as they are often subject to cure is perhaps the most revolutionary social discovery of our age.

As a result of this knowledge which has been accumulating for the last fifty years we now recognize the ultimate necessity for making social services available to all people in all economic groups. We see now that if the contributions of social work are worth anything, they are of value to all, not merely to one segment of the community. This discovery means, among other things, that social work will be practiced in settings and under auspices other than its own. In some of the most important current developments, as for example rehabilitation, vocational counseling, and foreign relief and rehabilitation, social work has some of but not all the essential ingredients. If we are to contribute to these developments, therefore, it must be in conjunction with others. To recognize this and to learn how to join forces with other groups in such enterprises is basic to our future usefulness.

Through the years, therefore, social work has learned to plunge skillfully into the maelstrom of community problems, to improve its public relations, to move toward the establishment of a network of community services, to sense the relation between the specialties of social work and the whole, to see the possibilities of preventive care, and to extend its services under other auspices and to other economic groups. The lessons of the past, and particularly those of the last fifteen years, now point to the burning question: Can social work, with its rich experience, its convictions, and its skills, make its influence felt in shaping the future of our country and the world? Can we be faithful, both to our heritage and to our future? This is a sober obligation, not an idle dream. To help create a world in which there can be peace, an economy in which there is full employment, and a society in which minority groups and those of every racial background may live as free people—these constitute our next and logical goals.

Social work was founded on the hope and with the promise of effecting changes in our economic and social life through the democratic process. In 1880 the founders of modern social agencies dared

to dream and talk of "abolishing poverty." The early settlements and family societies gave much of their attention to broad problems of community reconstruction. And we who followed have made further progress. Now, with our techniques developed, with the experience of the last fifty years, with the knowledge that everything we know and have learned about individuals, families, groups, and communities points to certain broad, underlying problems which must be solved if the fundamental problems of human beings are to be met—we pause and ask how social work may help to abolish war, unemployment, disease, and prejudice. We may well ask this question, for upon the answer rests the future of our profession.

We are reasonably well agreed upon a platform of social and economic objectives. We may differ on details, but there is little important disagreement on those larger goals toward which the majority of the people of America and of the world are lifting their eyes. The organization of the Social Workers Emergency Committee and the work of the American Association of Social Workers, which culminated in a practical platform are indicative of the concern that is finding new expression among us.

The real question, therefore, is how to be as effective in what we call social action (but what might be better described as statesman-like organization for needed change) as we are in the treatment of family problems, the placement of children, and the leadership of groups in war and in peace. As we analyze this problem we must come to the conclusion that we can never solve it unless we continue to move forward simultaneously on three other equally important fronts:

1. We must continue with even greater energy and devotion those activities for which social work is primarily responsible. I refer, of course, to the basic functions for which social work was organized. It was our expertness in performing these tasks that produced the experience and the data upon which we now base our pleas for action on fundamental social and economic problems. I refer to those functions that will not be performed unless social workers perform them. They constitute our first and most binding obligation. We must remember, for example, that there are large areas of our country which do not yet have the elementary child welfare, family, and other services which most of our urban centers take for granted. It would be tragic if, in attending to the needs of the children of India and China, we in any way neglected the children in the disadvantaged areas of our own land. Ours is an inclusive responsibility embracing both our own and other lands.

Following the war, social work will face the most crucial problem of its entire history. The wounded, in both the physical and the emotional sense of that word, including men, women, and children in all economic groups and in all geographical areas, will constitute the greatest challenge we have ever known. To meet this impact and at the same time to improve our skills in prevention and rehabilitation, our basic services, basic techniques, and basic research must be constantly strengthened.

2. We must move into services that are admittedly close to the heart of social work although they are not always regarded as falling squarely within its framework. I refer specifically to such agencies as correctional institutions and juvenile courts and such functions as probation and parole both for children and for adults. I would almost decidedly include prisons and hospitals for the mentally ill. At the center of each of these programs lie crucial problems of human relations in which social work experience and skill are seriously needed.

For too long social work has regarded such services virtually as stepchildren to whom upon occasion it would give grudging encouragement, and then proceed to criticize their shortcomings. The fact remains that these services require more social work personnel. We can hardly expect their programs to improve until social work and other professions join in an all-out attempt to effect the changes needed. Every progressive leader of penal affairs in the United States has pleaded with social work to assist in meeting the intricate problems of human beings with which they are faced. Thus far our response has not been impressive. While the background of hospitals for the mentally ill is essentially that of the medical profession, psychiatrists, physicians, and administrators of these institutions have urgently requested our aid. We cannot neglect these programs in our postwar planning, in our recruiting for social work, in our professional education, nor in our present concern.

3. We must assist and encourage the development of social work techniques under auspices other than our own. The very fact that such opportunities now exist is a mark of the maturity and broad usefulness of our profession. In education, in business and industry, in labor organization, in the new rehabilitation services, and in housing we have made and must continue to make our unique contributions. Other professions, notably medicine and the law, have shown us the way in developments of this character by stepping out of their own settings to practice under a variety of auspices.

The complex and everyday problems which grow up around

human relations in business, industry, and labor are no different in essence from the problems we have known elsewhere. Knowledge of behavior and the will and the skill to deal with people with understanding and sympathy are frequently conspicuous by their absence when men and women gather to discuss their differences. These are our stock in trade, and some of the most thoughtful leaders in business, industry, and labor are now saying that the knowledge and experience of social work may well be applied in their fields with beneficial results. Already experienced social workers are entering these fields, and we shall watch their progress with keen interest.

Our progress on the fourth front, that of action on broad social and economic issues, cannot be effective unless we hold these three sectors and, indeed, advance upon them. Our attack on the fundamental problems of society resembles in many respects the invasion of Europe. We have known for a long time that it was both necessary and inevitable. We have been testing the ground, reconnoitering, dropping a few bombs, and gathering our forces. But our "D day" has not yet arrived. Nor will it come until and unless we are fully prepared as individual social workers, as agencies, and as a profession.

As individuals we must be free in every sense of that word; free from hate and prejudice; free from judgmental attitudes based on emotion; and free from the motivation of self-aggrandizement. We must be informed on the issues to which we address ourselves and we dare not dissipate our efforts and weaken our influence by going all out on matters of relative unimportance.

As individuals we shall be called upon frequently to subordinate minor personal opinions in the interest of finding a common ground upon which we can move forward in pursuit of our common ends. This will be increasingly necessary in the days ahead; we will do well, therefore, to note that herein lies one of our most vulnerable points as individual social workers. It is fair to say that as individuals we have, to date, distinguished ourselves more as practitioners of the right of individual expression than as experts in the art of negotiation and agreement.

As agencies we must look critically at our policies and structure as we enter the public health phase of social work when prevention, rehabilitation, and action on broad issues are at the fore. Most of our agencies were organized to treat the ill, not to prevent illness. As a result, they are not yet streamlined to take action on, nor a real

part in the solution of, those problems which create the ills they seek to alleviate.

Hence, for example, while we give skillful care to a child whose injuries are due largely to violations of the Child Labor Act, we seem impotent to mobilize the strength to enforce such a law. Our agencies know the results of wretched housing and the ravages of illness, but we have not proceeded from the particular to the general in using agency prestige and leadership in the development of housing programs and the extension of medical care. We can no longer be complacent about the fact that the policies and structure of our agencies require rethinking and revamping if they are to provide the flexibility and mobility that the present era and the long future demand.

As a profession we must recognize the requirements of effective action on the fourth front. We need a central channel through which our strength may be felt and a national network inclusive of even more interests within our profession than those now represented in either the National Social Work Council or the American Association of Social Workers. Indeed, both these organizations have recently given expression to these needs and together with other groups are actively seeking a solution.

As a profession, moreover, we must work with and through many and diverse groups in the community. If we are wise, however, we will not identify ourselves with any one political party or any one group to the exclusion of others. Our great strength as a profession lies and will continue to lie in our freedom to throw our influence in the direction of whatever responsible and reputable groups or parties in the community or nation are moving in the interest of basic human needs.

The genius of social work's being is that of bringing together diverse groups in a common search and action for the common good. No other profession and no other movement has yet developed our experience or our potential skill in this area of human relations. Thus while we may with wisdom and impunity seek temporary alliances with various groups on various issues, we cannot submerge our identity with any one group if we are to keep alive and vital the major and unique mission to which we were born—the bringing together of a wide variety of people and groups in the attainment of high goals for society as a whole.

In this important respect we differ from most groups in the community—we seek not only to gain the long-range goals of social and economic betterment but, in so doing, to reconcile differences,

cement common interests, replace strife with understanding, and give warm and understanding leadership in lifting the whole level of community life. We must remain free to express and give full and effective play to our unique contributions in a nation and world which desperately need them.

As individual social workers, as agencies, and as a profession we must watch method in our attack on fundamental social and economic problems as jealously as we watch it in other aspects of our work. There are some who are impatient with any study or discussion of method when it comes to racial problems, adequate distribution of medical care, full employment, and the like. If methods are not fully as important as goals, then there is no wisdom in history and no lessons in the tragic experience of Nazi Germany. Social work has learned during the last fifty years that analysis and diagnosis, the understanding of people and issues, and the ability to move forward skillfully, and at times cautiously, constitute the only scientific and humane approach to the solution of human problems. In our effort to take action on large issues we have frequently forgotten these lessons.

The major problems in which we are interested fall into three categories: problems of distribution, that is, distribution of education, of jobs, of medical care; problems having to do with the establishment of new programs; and problems relating to the elimination of prejudice and ignorance. All of these persist because of basic fears, because of frustration, and because of conflict. They challenge the social worker in precisely the same manner as problems of family maladjustment, juvenile delinquency, and group and neighborhood disintegration. Not one of them can be properly handled by the uninformed, few by those committed to pressure tactics, and none by those who forget that the larger the problem the greater the need for understanding, skillful diagnosis, and carefully planned strategy and negotiation.

There have been many situations in recent years in which social workers have conducted themselves as social workers in the handling of difficult and highly controversial social and economic issues. Wherever we have been effective, however, whenever our voice has been heard with respect, we have been guided by our own basic philosophy and have employed adaptations of our own tested methods and techniques. As we gather our forces to attack broad social and economic problems we must continue to act like skillful and competent social workers. Burning convictions we must have, but they must be harnessed and channeled; we must press for the

rights of the disinherited, but with self-control and precision; courage and vigor must be ours, but they must be tempered with wisdom and a sense of timing; we must rise with righteous anger at the challenge of cruelty and injustice, but we dare not engender hatred in the process of eliminating it.

The lessons of the past need careful application at no other point quite so much as in relation to the crucial question as to how social work with its knowledge of human suffering and its vision of prevention and rehabilitation can be fully effective in the building of a new and healthy society. It is evident from our history and our current performance that we have the skill to combine those elements of social work long ago referred to as "cause" and "function." We now stand at a new crossroads, and our choices are very clear. Our future is limited only by our imagination, our will, our spiritual commitment, and the degree to which we can adapt what we know to be good and sound and true in the past and present to the needs of the long future.

SOCIAL WORK CONCEPTS AND METHODS IN THE POSTWAR WORLD

By *JANE M. HOEY*

IN THE MIDST of a total war that involves practically the whole world, there is obvious need to plan for the future in the light of the past and the present. It is our responsibility to help direct developments for the world of tomorrow. No one individual, no group, and no single nation will be entirely responsible for that development, but each person, each group, and every nation will share in it, and the effectiveness of each contribution will, in part, depend upon the degree to which it is consciously made. Goals are frequently achieved as the inevitable result of an accumulation of influences and circumstances, but the likelihood of achieving a desired end is enhanced by purposeful direction. Goals for the postwar world represent, on a national and international basis, the goals inherent in the objectives and administration of social work. Hence, social work concepts and methods have a particular contribution to make to the postwar world.

The war is being fought with all the resources available through the application of scientific knowledge. It is also being fought by psychological weapons. Most significant in the totalitarian countries was the psychological preparation for war through the education of youth. The development of an exalted sense of nationality and of race and the instillation of a concept of the individual that minimizes the importance of his personality and distorts his relationship to the State resulted in this war. World War II was caused not only by a conflict as to the basic philosophy of life, but also by an accumulation of circumstances surrounding the material aspects of life. The economic and social need of the two decades that preceded 1940 provided a logical opportunity for leaders, striving for power, to obtain followers through the promotion of material well-being. In the postwar world it is to be hoped that acute economic distress will not provide an opportunity for the development of new philosophies of life destructive to the individual or for the perpetuation of the current totalitarian philosophy.

Two general types of problems—philosophical and practical—will be faced in the postwar world. The philosophical problems—those that relate to an understanding of the physical, intellectual, spiritual, and social nature of man, of society, and of man's relationship to society and to social institutions—must be met with consummate skill if the ideological basis for a possible World War III is to be counteracted. A spiritual philosophy of life must replace materialistic philosophies. The solution of the practical problems—those that relate to the organizational structure of society and meeting human needs in a way consistent with a sound philosophy, through the use of appropriate policies and methods—will make possible the development of an environment conducive to a lasting peace. Social work can contribute to human welfare in the solution of both types of problems.

"Social work concepts and methods" are those that are recognized as underlying social work even though their use is not restricted to that profession. These concepts may not now be universally accepted, and they are constantly undergoing development. Moreover, social work methods can be considerably improved and more widely adapted. Social work is not static; it must keep pace with changing social and economic conditions, scientific developments, and evolving social concepts.

Underlying social work are the basic philosophical concepts that human personality represents the highest type of created being and that each person is a unique individual who has an innate dignity because of his capacity to reason, his free will, his origin, and his eternal destiny. Man is also a social being with responsibilities to his fellow men and with rights that others must respect. The concern of social work with social organization derives from the principle that the family is the basic unit of society, that the State is a natural outgrowth of the social nature of man and is established to serve man, and that voluntary organizations supplement government in meeting man's basic needs.

Social work is also built around a concept of human needs and rights which encompasses all those things, material and nonmaterial, necessary to the full development of human personality. Man has a right to these essentials which arise out of his intrinsic nature. The active promotion of the common welfare is a responsibility of society which is primarily assumed through government. Voluntary organizations may meet needs, but government has the primary obligation to see that essential human needs are met and that the rights

of the individual are protected. These basic concepts are the foundation of a spiritual philosophy of life.

The following social work methods should be helpful in the post-war world: man should be seen as an integrated personality with physical, mental, spiritual, and emotional needs; mass programs should be organized so as to protect the individual; special provisions must be made for persons whose needs cannot be fully met by the mass programs; law and policy should be used to bring about equity in administration; organizational structure and procedures should safeguard individual dignity and integrity; the case method of study, diagnosis, and treatment is appropriate in meeting the problems of individuals as well as of groups; the planning for, and the administration of, social programs should proceed from a knowledge of individuals and of economic and social conditions; and there should be coördination and integration of community efforts to achieve a balanced program and to make the best use of available resources.

The strengthening and maintenance of a spiritual philosophy of life will depend upon an increase in religious education and upon intellectual and emotional training. Social work concepts and methods may be effectively used in planning and providing this training. Christopher Dawson, who has so penetratingly analyzed the causes of the present conflict, writes in *The Judgment of the Nations*: "Democracy will not be destroyed either by military defeat or by the discipline and organization which it has to impose on itself in order to gain the victory, if it can maintain its spiritual value and preserve itself from the dangers of demoralization and disintegration."

A spiritual philosophy of life is developed primarily through religion, for it provides an understanding of the purpose of human life and of one's relationship to other men. Religious freedom must be accepted by all nations if freedom of the spirit is to be restored, and the opportunity to worship must be obtained for everyone. The importance of religion has not been recognized fully. Social work, which has had ample opportunity to see the results of the lack of religious belief and guidance, is not alone in not having generally explored the full implications of worship for the well-being of individuals and of society.

Supplementing governmental protection of the right to worship, there is need for the recognition of the moral and ethical aspects of religion in all phases of life. Churches, building upon the increased interest in religion, should emphasize the social obligations of man

and the importance of having religion permeate the life of individuals and of nations. In addition, government and other organizations must recognize the moral and ethical issues involved if the maximum contribution is to be made to the development of future civilization.

Social work methods can be used by all who wish to contribute to the development of a spiritual philosophy of life. Study of the needs of individuals and of groups by churches and religious organizations, recognizing religious needs separately and in their relationship to other human needs, seems to be basic, and the principles of community organization can be used to bring about a coördinated practical approach to the development of a spiritual philosophy. Social work has a wealth of data that can be utilized in this process.

One's rights and responsibilities, as well as the rights of other individuals and of society, become known partly through the intellect; training of the mind is therefore essential to bring about justice among individuals and nations. But justice is cold and needs the warmth of the fire of charity if a desirable social order is to be achieved. Therefore, education must encompass training of the emotions as well as of the intellect and the will. I am not alone in my belief that the educational programs of the democracies, no less than those of totalitarian countries, should be re-examined and re-planned so that the acquisition of knowledge may be accompanied by a self-discipline of the emotions and the will. Increasingly, ways must be found to educate "the whole man" if a sound social order is to emerge.

Various types of educational deficiencies have become evident in the past decade. The lack of understanding of the nature of the individual and his inherent rights and of varied cultures is obvious. The inadequacy of the training in the meaning of a democratic way of life is evident even among our own people. The power to reason and the strength to choose what the intellect reveals to be good are not always developed by current educational methods. One wonders whether the totalitarian countries would have submitted to their leaders if they had had a different type of education or, indeed, whether these leaders would have arisen had a sound educational program been followed over a period of years. The artificial, selected type of "education" in the totalitarian countries has, it is true, developed loyalty and a commendable willingness to sacrifice. It is with the goal toward which their education was directed that we differ. The influence of material factors on the power of man to reason and to will is, however, evident in the fact that parents did

not effectively oppose the type of education that their children were receiving. If totalitarianism is to be avoided in the future, education must encompass a sound training in the nature of man and of society and the responsibilities of government to the individual. If the mandate "Render, therefore, to Caesar the things that are Caesar's" is to be followed by all men, it is essential that they know and understand the scope of Caesar's power and the source of his authority.

In all countries where there is separation of Church and State, the exclusion of religious instruction from the school curricula has too often resulted in a complete lack of religious instruction and in an ignoring of the moral and ethical aspects of the training that is given. Some church groups have established schools and colleges in which secular and religious education are coördinated. In some places in the United States public schools provide "released time" in which children may receive religious instruction under the auspices of their chosen church. Significant as this is, it does not integrate secular and religious instruction. The solution of the problem must be found if education is to prepare a generation which will both want and work for peace.

Education must also train people to live a disciplined emotional life. The perpetuation of existing prejudices or the development of new prejudices is inconsistent with a democratic philosophy. The attitudes of some people toward the Negro, the Mexican, the Japanese, and other minority groups must be changed. Tolerance and charity will be required for the development of the international coöperation which will provide a basis for the maintenance of world peace. Harboring resentment toward our enemies will profit nothing; on the contrary, respect for the dignity and rights of others will help to achieve a democratic way of life.

The war has brought about conflicting attitudes on dependence and independence. On the one hand, the governmental controls made necessary by total war have accustomed some people to attitudes of dependence which it may be difficult to counteract. On the other hand, governmental restrictions have also caused some resentment and the development of pronounced attitudes of independence which may result in a demand for the relaxation of governmental controls, even beyond what is safe for the common good. The group activities of the war period may lead to a strong group consciousness and a concern for group rights without adequate regard for the rights of other groups, both within and among nations. Pressure groups may, in attempting to obtain some things for themselves, not only oppose other pressure groups, but also

work against the common good. The consciousness of the significant role played by certain nations in this war may result in extreme demands by those nations after the war, with a resultant violation of the rights of other nations. Such developments must be guarded against, and we, the people of this country, must express ourselves clearly on this point.

Social work concepts and methods may be helpful in planning the education of the future. The basic concepts of the nature of man should be the same as those that underlie social work. That physical, mental, moral, and spiritual development are interrelated and that that education is best which effectively coördinates all types of training to develop human potentialities and social attitudes should be more generally recognized. In other words, the social work principle that all the needs of man should be seen in their separateness and in their interrelationships should find acceptance in educational circles. The inadequacies of an education that merely imparts knowledge must become more generally realized, so that appropriate steps may be taken to develop educational programs that are more completely directed toward the development of an integrated personality.

Individualization, emphasized in social work, should also contribute to the development of improved educational programs. In most countries, education must be planned on a mass basis, but ways should be found to gear training to the needs of individuals, for there is great need for an expansion of facilities for individual instruction for those who cannot profit from mass methods. The experience of social work in joint planning and in administration may be suggestive to those responsible for planning for education. Social workers should join with others in working for the protection of the right of each person to that training which best equips him to live a happy, useful life. The right to education is as essential as is the right to the means to maintenance and when necessary to maintenance itself.

No less serious than the philosophical problems will be the practical problems. Some of the most difficult and important will relate to the organization of the family, of government, and of other social institutions. Toward the solution of many of these, social work concepts and methods should make a significant contribution.

Changes in the family as a social institution brought about through the industrialization of society and other economic and social factors, as well as by changing attitudes toward marriage, have been no less significant than the disregard of the sanctity of the

family under some governments. It is primarily within the family that habits of life and a respect for the rights of others are built. Schools and other institutions make an important contribution, but parental guidance and example are the most significant factors in the moral and emotional training of individuals. The strengthening of the family unit is therefore essential.

The deprivations which many children are suffering through the absence of their fathers and the employment of their mothers can never be entirely compensated. Doubtless some mothers have, through careful planning and skillful interpretation to their children, been able to minimize the bad effects of wartime disruption of family life. That many others have not is evident from the record of children's delinquencies. Information is not available as to the degree to which children who have not developed serious problems have, nevertheless, suffered an emotional injury. The employment of women is, of course, taken for granted in most countries. However, there are indications of a need for positive efforts to interpret the spiritual, emotional, and social values of motherhood if family life is to be strengthened. Plans for the care of children left homeless in Europe and the Far East must recognize the importance of training that will enable them to be effective parents of the coming generation.

Governmental patterns and structures will be subject to minute scrutiny during the remainder of the war and in the postwar period, and their reorganization will present another major problem. The desire of democratic peoples that others may enjoy a similar way of life may result in undue emphasis on the establishment of political democracies. Plans for governmental reorganization must be carefully developed in the light of an understanding of the traditions and culture of a nation as well as of the various patterns that might be followed. History has demonstrated that a democratic way of life is possible under various forms of government. Due regard for human personality and respect for the will of the people rather than the establishment of a specific type of government are the goals which should be sought. The selection of a form of government is a right and responsibility of the people of a nation, and they should be given an opportunity to exercise that right and discharge that responsibility.

Tremendous advances in the discovery and utilization of scientific data have resulted in a mass type of civilization and an almost continuous extension of the duties performed by governments, as well as in a realignment of the respective responsibilities of the several

types of governmental units. Continued scientific advance may result in an overemphasis on governmental responsibility. Material resources provide a source of power which may be used for good or ill, and regulation of the activities of those who control these resources is essential. The discovery of the appropriate balance between individual and governmental control presents a challenge to the best minds of every nation.

The use of governmental power to the disadvantage of certain groups is an abuse of authority against which objection is legitimate. To some degree, the failure of our local and state governments to administer social services on an equitable basis to all those who qualify has been discriminatory—not so serious, it is true, as the persecution of minority groups in some European countries, but discriminatory, nonetheless. In every nation continuous efforts must be made toward equity for all in the administration of governmental functions. "Certain things we must finally come to accept. Man in supporting governments must recognize their true function. . . . Government must foster the natural cohesion among men, not engender discontents and disorders."¹

The pattern of society should, of course, be adjusted to the peculiar traditions and circumstances in each nation. However, it has been found that, in general, the maintenance of a democratic way of life includes the development and strengthening of voluntary organizations. The history of totalitarian countries shows that as government increasingly controls human life, voluntary organizations are disbanded or their activities are controlled by governmental authorities. There are basic functions which government either must perform or must make certain that others perform. The selection of purposes which voluntary organizations can achieve should be determined in the light of an understanding of appropriate and essential governmental functions in each country. However, as both governmental and voluntary organizations are instruments which are justified only because they contribute to the welfare of society, close coordination is essential.

In many fields of activity some governmental control of private organizations is essential to safeguard the common good. Frequently, voluntary organizations are inclined to consider the imposition of any requirements by government as an invasion of their rights and an unlawful exercise of authority. Often, private organizations

¹R. N. Anshen, ed., "The Rights of Man," *Beyond Victory* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1943), p. 5.

assume responsibilities which can be considered as belonging to government. The reluctance with which some voluntary organizations relinquished responsibility for administration of assistance during the depression finds its counterpart in their opposition to the extension of the social security program. If there were agreement as to the essential functions of government, this conflict would not exist, or it would at least be reduced. The boundary lines between governmental and voluntary functions are not static, and it appears important to obtain as a widespread interpretation of the philosophy of government an understanding that the State (used in a broad sense to represent government) has a primary responsibility for safeguarding human rights and promoting the welfare of the group as well as for protecting itself from aggression.

The war period has been accompanied by a motivation and force which have made possible the coördination of governmental and private efforts to achieve goals which seemed unobtainable a few years ago. This unity of purpose undoubtedly will not carry over to peacetime, however, yet a high rate of postwar employment and the achievement of other desirable social goals will probably not be possible unless governmental and private efforts can be motivated by a strong force which will bring about a unification of effort. The source of such an incentive must be found.

With the drastic changes that have resulted in the gradual transition from an emphasis in government on police activities to an emphasis on the protection of human rights, it seems inevitable that the postwar world will witness marked changes in private organizations. Doubtless, private social work organizations, as well as other types of voluntary associations, will undergo significant development. In preparing for such changes, the case method of meeting a specific situation may be helpful. Joint planning for anticipated changes seems essential if duplication is to be prevented and the accumulated experience of voluntary associations is to be used effectively.

In considering the effective coördination of governmental and voluntary activities, the importance of planning for any aspect of man's welfare with due regard for all other aspects seems to be essential. Otherwise, for example, educational needs may be met without appropriate recognition of the interrelationship of health needs and the need for material security. The importance of the family as the basic unit in society needs conscious recognition. The development of law and policy has successfully contributed to the equitable administration of public social services. Similarly, in the

postwar world a clear definition of function and operating principles of public and private organizations will contribute to the effective organization of society. The patterns of coördination of various types of social work programs, both in planning and in administration, can be considerably improved. However, they suggest that similar coördination of social institutions in the world of tomorrow will be essential if conflicts are to be avoided and an appropriate structure developed for carrying out society's responsibilities.

The devastation of the war is creating human needs such as have not been known before. The assistance that is being provided by voluntary and governmental and national and international organizations to prisoners of war, to refugees, and, in a few instances, to people in occupied countries, is only a sample of the nature and extent of the assistance which will be required after the fighting has ceased. In meeting those emergent needs all the knowledge and skills of social work will be needed. Pertinent to this problem is the statement of Clarence Pickett, Executive Secretary of the American Friends Service Committee:

In all of this the personal element looms large. The identification of the recipient of relief and the giver of relief is significant. I suppose no one has left so deep an impression on society as a relief dispenser as has St. Francis of Assisi. He identified himself with the suffering of those whom he served. He, who had possessions and position, gave up everything and completely identified himself with persons of poverty and suffering. He even lived among the lepers. He, who loved cleanliness, slept in filth and found himself contaminated by lice in order to identify himself with the suffering. While such practices are not likely to be accepted and perhaps are not necessary today by the administrators of relief, a strong sense of identification and a real concern for fellowship with those who are victims are essential if we are to build a healthy relationship out of the dispensation of relief.²

Permanent plans for meeting human needs should be developed as quickly as possible after the war. The importance of meeting spiritual, moral, mental, and emotional needs has been discussed. Material security too is important, for it makes a significant contribution to emotional security and provides a firm foundation for intellectual and spiritual development.

The Philadelphia Declaration, "a restatement of human rights—a social and economic charter," recently adopted at the conference of the International Labor Organization, gives evidence of the con-

² Clarence E. Pickett, "Problems Involved in Administering Relief Abroad," *Administration of Relief Abroad, a Series of Occasional Papers* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1943), p. 27.

cern of employers, workers, and governments throughout the world for promoting human welfare. This Declaration will bear careful study in order that we may understand the full significance of the necessity of developing means to attain the goals expressed therein and to carry out the principles enunciated. It says, among other things:

Labor is not a commodity. . . . Poverty anywhere, constitutes a danger to prosperity everywhere. . . . The war against want requires to be carried on with unrelenting vigor within each nation, and by continuous and concerted international effort in which the representatives of workers and employers, enjoying equal status with those of governments, join with them in free discussion and democratic decision with a view to the promotion of the common welfare.

It also affirms that:

All human beings, irrespective of race, creed, or sex, have the right to pursue both their material well-being and their spiritual development in conditions of freedom and dignity, of economic security and equal opportunity. . . . The attainment of the conditions in which this shall be possible must constitute the central aim of national and international policy.

Our President has already subscribed to the specific provisions of this Declaration on behalf of this country. It is our responsibility to help carry out the principles expressed and to achieve the goals enumerated.

In a recent statement of the International Labor Organization the emphasis on employment as a means of promoting social security is consistent with the prevailing philosophy that individuals and families should be able to attain their own social security through work. It is to be hoped that in the postwar world all types of work—professional, agricultural, industrial—will be recognized, as well as the importance of perfecting the structures through which work is performed. For example, the industrialization of a country without a careful attempt to correct the errors in our present industrial organization would certainly be unfortunate. To be specific, in the selection and location of industries, social and human factors have not always been considered; the capacities of individuals for creative activity should increasingly be recognized in industrial employment; and the desirability of workers sharing in planning, administration, and the profits of industrial activity should be acknowledged. In addition, the importance of assuring to employees enough income to maintain a standard of living that is consistent with human dig-

nity and the resources of their country must not be ignored. If it is, the depression of the 1930s may be duplicated or even surpassed.

Variations in the customs among the various countries have resulted in considerable difference in standards of living. This, in turn, has resulted in international competition which, in the long run, has been beneficial to no one; for the profit of one nation at the expense of unjust loss to another nation is not a real profit. The belief that the products from countries with a low standard of living provided unfair competition to products from countries with a higher standard of living has resulted in the establishment of unreasonable trade barriers. It has also resulted in the development of unwholesome attitudes of workers in some countries toward workers in other countries. These difficulties may seem to defy solution, but one must be found if world coöperation, a stable peace, and the establishment of a sound social order are to be achieved.

The importance of the development of individuals so that they may achieve their highest potentialities and make their maximum contribution to the well-being of society provides a philosophical base for an approach to these problems. Individualization, both in working with, and in the administration of, mass programs, will help each person to find the type of work for which he is best suited and will assist individuals to achieve satisfaction in work which it is necessary to carry on through large groups. The development of laws and policies, organizational structures, and procedures by governmental and voluntary organizations or individuals, that will accomplish the desired purpose and give appropriate recognition to the human personalities which will be affected, is essential. Many forms of activities are required to achieve this. Public employment offices, minimum wage and maximum hour legislation, and safety laws and regulations will be necessary. Vocational guidance and training and sound employment policies must be available. Broad study and planning by voluntary and governmental organizations will be important factors.

We know that not all persons are able to attain security for themselves and their families through employment. The protection of individuals and families against the common hazards of life and the development of community resources will be as essential in the postwar world as they are vital today. The fact that present measures are limited and that the administration of them frequently leaves much to be desired places upon social workers an awe-inspiring responsibility for consistent efforts toward the improvement of existing measures. There will be continued need for income when earn-

ings are interrupted, for medical care and preventive health services, for opportunities for wholesome leisure-time activities, for case work services, and for specialized services for those who come in contact with the law. The correction of social conditions that foster delinquency and the changing of harmful social and economic conditions will also be necessary. It is in these areas that social work concepts and methods can make the most significant contribution.

The responsibilities of social work and social workers in the postwar world cannot be shirked. To discharge them effectively will require consistent and considerable effort. A greater unity of purpose than now exists must be achieved. Continuous effort to clarify the concepts which underlie our practice and to improve our methods is mandatory if social workers are to continue to strive for a professional status. Because of the nature of the field, social workers are in an advantageous position to see the relationship of the concepts and methods used in the administration of social services to other types of services needed in the postwar world. A broadening of professional education for social work in order that greater knowledge may be obtained concerning other types of programs may become essential in developing an informed social work leadership. Social work organizations as well as social workers need to assume responsibility for interpreting social work concepts and methods and their significance. Public welfare agencies have a peculiar responsibility in this regard because of their responsibility to the entire population. Private agencies likewise have a contribution to make because of the flexibility of their structure. The challenge inherent in the postwar period must be met courageously by social workers.

NEEDED AMENDMENTS TO THE SOCIAL SECURITY ACT

By *JAMES E. MURRAY*

IN PLANNING FOR comprehensive social security for everyone, we already have, through the Social Security Act, a solid foundation on which to build. Many people forget how much has been gained in the last ten years in administrative experience, in the development of professional standards and trained personnel, and in the wider recognition of basic human rights and of public responsibilities. The opponents of social security take advantage of such forgetfulness; they talk as though the whole job were still to be done and hence obviously beyond our capacity for immediate action. It should be emphasized, again and again, that the job is well under way. Past accomplishments as well as present needs urge us to carry on, vigorously.

I believe that our goal is something more than—and greater than—the sum of any number of separate measures. Our goal is nothing less than security and freedom from the fear of *insecurity* for every individual and every family. In this sense, social security is itself only a part of a still larger whole which we call the democratic way of life. It is impossible to draw a sharp line between political freedom and economic freedom or between economic freedom and social security.

The twenty years between the two world wars have again proven that where there is no economic freedom, political liberties are menaced. The fundamental conditions of economic freedom are full employment, adequate wages, or sufficient earnings from self-employment, for all who are able to work, and full use of all our productive resources. Of almost equal importance, however, is the provision for those who cannot work. This is a vital aspect of social security.

It was, perhaps, necessary for us to take the first steps toward full social security along what seemed to be divergent paths. There has never been a time in our history when mutual aid was not needed

and practiced in every community. Nevertheless, the tradition of individual self-sufficiency has dominated most of our thinking and much of our action. Social need and public responsibility were first recognized in the case of special groups. We could all see that a widow with young children needed aid if the family were to remain together. It took us somewhat longer to realize that there were circumstances other than the death of the breadwinner which threatened the security of the family and against which the family could not protect itself. Long ago we began to recognize the special problem of aged persons; but we were slower to accept social responsibility for those who were forced out of the labor market before they had reached the arbitrary age which gives entitlement to old age assistance.

We are familiar with the advantages and the disadvantages of separate categories of public assistance. The same tendencies and the same problems have arisen in relation to social insurance. Partly under the stimulus of the legal responsibility of employers for injuries suffered by their workers in the course of employment, a system of insurance was provided against work-connected disabilities. We are only now becoming acutely aware of the need for social insurance protection against the disabling illnesses and injuries which are not work connected.

Nine years ago the United States adopted a national system of old age insurance for industrial and commercial workers, and four years later we added survivor protection for widows, orphans, and dependent parents. We also established a Federal-state unemployment compensation program. It is significant that most workers think and talk, not about old age or survivor or unemployment benefits, but about their social security benefits. Many of them are puzzled as to why they should apply to one office for one benefit, and to a different office for another benefit. They cannot understand why they should receive benefits when they are out of a job but able to work, and yet their benefits stop when they become ill. Technically, they may be wrong; morally, socially, and politically, they are right. We shall not have real social security until we have a comprehensive and, preferably, a unified social insurance system and, supplementing the insurance system, an inclusive and, preferably, a unified public assistance program.

The idea of a comprehensive and unified social security program has inspired new hope among the peoples of many scattered lands. For Great Britain, the report of Sir William Beveridge and, more recently, the government's White Paper proposals for a national

health service, pointed the way toward a sweeping attack on want, poverty, and ill health. In New Zealand, there is in operation a comprehensive social security program which applies to every resident. Canada and Australia are considering extensive programs. The social security measures already adopted in a number of South American countries are based on the concept of universality of protection.

One of the aims of the United Nations, as stated in the Atlantic Charter, is the "assurance that all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." The Recommendations on Social Security which were adopted by the International Labor Conference reflect this growing world-wide concern with social security as a whole.

In our own country, the bill which Senator Robert F. Wagner, of New York, and I introduced in the Senate in 1943 and the companion bill introduced in the House by Congressman Dingell give concrete form to the demand for a comprehensive and unified program.

What is it that gives such force to the idea of a comprehensive and unified social security program? First, there is the age-old concern for the welfare of one's fellow men. If we recognize a social obligation toward any group, we cannot deny an obligation toward all persons with similar needs. Secondly, there is the democratic principle of equal opportunity and equality of treatment which argues against a continuation of our present discriminations in coverage and in rights. Thirdly, and increasingly important, are the economic arguments for a comprehensive program.

Such a program has become necessary to the successful functioning of our complex, capitalistic economy. Almost no one produces all that he himself needs. The worker, the farmer, the self-employed person are all dependent on a continuing money income. For most of us, that means continuing employment, but we know that there will always be some persons who want to work but who cannot immediately find jobs. We know, also, that at any time there are large numbers of persons who are unable to work, and thus there are many families with no income. It is necessary to the smooth functioning of our economy, as well as to the preservation of our democracy, that such families continue to have food and shelter and the other necessities of life. The abundance which modern science and technology make possible can provide enough, not only for those who are working, but also for those who are not working. Our task is to distribute this abundance with justice and fairness.

Our principal reliance in solving this problem must be on social insurance, supplemented by assistance granted on the basis of individual need. For this purpose, partial systems will not do. Social security must mean to every individual and to every family the assurance of a continuing, adequate cash income and the assurance of all needed medical services.

Social insurance implies a system of prepayment. Workers can set aside small regular amounts each pay period while they are working, and in return they will be entitled to cash benefits if they cannot work and to medical care for themselves and their families whenever it is needed. The benefits are, of course, payable to all persons who meet appropriate eligibility tests, irrespective of their income or resources at the time when they need the assistance.

Social insurance means an averaging of costs. Each worker pays out of his wages a share of the total cost of providing cash benefits to families whose earned income has been cut off by old age, death, disability, or unemployment and a share of the total cost of providing medical care and hospitalization to all persons who become ill or disabled. In addition, social insurance makes it possible for the community as a whole, without adopting a means test system, to help pay for the security of those persons who are least able to contribute from their earnings.

The social insurance system should provide cash benefits in all the major contingencies which threaten the economic independence of the family—unemployment, sickness or disability, old age, or the death of the breadwinner. The system should cover all workers, whether they are self-employed or employed by others. The bill which Senator Wagner and I have introduced would extend coverage, not only to industrial and commercial workers who are now covered by old age and survivors insurance, but also to agricultural and domestic workers, employees of nonprofit organizations, farmers, small businessmen, professional and other self-employed persons, and—through voluntary compacts—to state and local government employees who are not covered by special retirement systems. Men and women in military service would be covered, with the government paying their contributions. The bill would not cover Federal employees or railroad workers; these two groups have their own retirement systems. Should either group wish the continuity of coverage and the right to all the other benefits of the unified insurance system, the bill could easily be amended to include them.

To be fully effective, the social insurance system must be national and unified. Only such a system can assure complete coverage, even

when a worker moves from one part of the country to another, or from one job to another. Only such a system can assure that a worker will not at one and the same time be adjudged able to work and hence not entitled to sickness benefits, by one agency, and unable to work and hence not entitled to unemployment benefits, by another agency. A national, unified system is more economical, both for the employer and in its own operations, and it is simple to understand. Because of the wider spreading of risks, it can provide more adequate benefits than could separate state systems for the same rate of contribution. Since the amount of the cash benefit is related to the worker's previous wages, local differences in earning levels are automatically reflected in the payments. The bill provides, moreover, for decentralized administration, with advisory councils representative of workers, employers, and the public at every level of administration.

We know that many persons go entirely without medical care because they cannot afford to pay at the time when they need it. Many more persons receive care no better than their grandfathers received, in spite of the marvelous advances of modern medicine. More significant than the number of young men rejected by the selective service because of disabilities—about one half of the first 3,000,000 called up—is the number whose disabilities were unnecessary. Medical authorities believe that between one third and one half of the disabilities could have been prevented or cured by adequate medical care.

Medical care is one of the necessities of life which a democracy should provide to all members of the community. It is just as essential as free public education. Theoretically, we might more surely make medical care universally available if we provided it as a *public service*, as we do education. We should not forget how much free public medical care is available today through our state and municipal general and special hospitals and through the extensive Federal provisions for medical and hospital care for veterans. If the doctors preferred to offer their services through a complete system of public medical care, the rest of us would surely agree. It is clear, however, that the medical profession does not favor such a development, which would mean a radical change in many existing practices. Medical and hospitalization insurance, on the other hand, involves very little change in the professional aspects of medical practice. I say this advisedly and in contradiction of the hysterical prophecies of impending doom which come daily from the leaders of the American Medical Association.

Because the costs of medical care are unpredictable, the social insurance method of paying those costs is particularly applicable. Workers can pay in advance, and at an average rate. The pooled funds thus accumulated are available to pay physicians and hospitals and laboratories for all the services which may be needed by insured persons and their families. The professional aspects of medical practice need be in no wise affected; that is to say, every individual can freely choose his own doctor from among all those in the community who are participating in the insurance system. The physician remains free to accept or to reject patients. The treatment of the patient is entirely the doctor's responsibility, and doctors can receive payment for their services according to the method they prefer. Where groups of doctors prefer to work together to give more competent and more economical service, they can do so under an insurance system more easily than they can today.

Our bill would provide medical and hospital benefits for insured workers, their wives, and their children under eighteen. The benefits would include the services of the family doctor of their choice and of specialists when needed, laboratory services for diagnosis and treatment, X rays, certain appliances—such as eyeglasses—when ordered by the physician, and up to thirty days of hospitalization a year for each member of the family, or up to ninety days if funds permit. Our bill specifically guarantees the right of all licensed doctors and of all qualified hospitals to participate in the system, and the right of the patient freely to choose his physician and to change doctors if he so desires.

In order to assure adequate medical care for as large a proportion of the population as possible, our bill makes special provision for needy persons and other noncovered groups. The indigent may receive medical care on the same basis as insured persons, provided a public agency makes payments into the social insurance fund on their behalf. Under the public assistance title of our bill the Federal Government would help state public assistance agencies finance such expenditures.

The social insurance system would be financed by contributions of 6 percent of wages, up to \$3,000 a year, from employees, and 6 percent from employers. Self-employed persons would pay 7 percent of their earnings, up to \$3,000 a year, and state and local government employees and their employers would each pay 3.5 percent, for the more limited classes of benefits for which these two groups are eligible. The bill would authorize government contributions as needed. The cost of old age benefits will increase sharply

in future years as more and more insured persons reach retirement age; the government contribution would help to meet these costs.

Six percent of one's wages is not a small amount, but it is evidence of the real desire of American workers for social security that they are willing to pay these contributions. There can be no doubt that they would get their money's worth. Workers now pay, on the average, more than 3 percent of their incomes for medical care alone—far less adequate care than they would receive if our bill were enacted into law. A comprehensive social insurance program would be worth all it cost to the workers, to the employers, and to the community because of the returns it would bring in improved health and vigor and increased family security.

No matter how adequate a social insurance system may be, there will always be some families with special needs, and some needy persons who cannot work and hence do not qualify for insurance benefits. A comprehensive social security program, consequently, must provide for public assistance granted on the basis of individual need. Our bill is therefore designed to strengthen the existing public assistance program.

Public assistance is our final line of defense against want. It must, therefore, be a strong defense. We hope that, as we organize our economic system more effectively and as our social insurance program comes into full operation, there will be increasingly fewer and fewer families who need to turn to public assistance. There are still thousands of communities where adequate public aid is not available to all needy persons. The difficulties are partly due to limited financial resources and are partly the result of the artificial categories we have set up in defining groups eligible for aid. Moreover, there is not yet complete agreement that a minimum essential content of living should be assured for everyone.

Some of the inadequacies of the present public assistance program could be overcome by the provision of Federal financial aid to the states for general assistance, as a supplement to our existing aid to the aged, dependent children, and the blind. Our bill proposes, instead, a unified assistance program to be administered by a single state agency. Federal matching funds would be available for assistance to all needy individuals, except children receiving foster care and inmates of public institutions. There would be no limit on the amount of the individual assistance payment which the Federal Government would match. Thus one important obstacle to adequate assistance payments and one basis of separate categories would be removed.

Under our bill all states should, before too long, provide assistance to all needy individuals. However, a state which wished to do so could provide assistance to needy aged persons or to needy children only. This provision would permit a gradual transition from the present categorical, limited programs to an all-inclusive, unified program.

For those classes of persons who are covered, however, our bill provides that no citizenship or residence requirement may be imposed as a condition of eligibility under an approved state plan. The problems and inequities resulting from residence requirements for public assistance are well known. One reason why many states have continued to impose such requirements has been the fear that they would face an influx of needy persons from other states. I believe the states would welcome a provision in the Federal law which would cut through these difficulties. Without such a provision, we would have little assurance that public aid would ever be available to all needy persons throughout the nation. Such a provision will be especially important in the coming years, when we must expect considerable interstate migration.

Another of the major inadequacies of present public assistance programs results from the fact that Federal matching grants are available only for money payments to individuals. It is particularly difficult to budget such payments for the unpredictable costs of medical care. Our bill would permit Federal matching of payments under a state plan for medical services provided to needy individuals. It is also assumed that many of, or possibly all, the state public assistance agencies would want to assure to assistance recipients the availability of medical services through payments to the social insurance fund on their behalf. They would thus receive medical care on the same basis as other persons.

If the relatively poorer states are to provide more nearly adequate assistance for all needy persons, it will be necessary for the Federal Government to assume a larger share of the costs of assistance in those states. Our bill consequently provides for variable matching ratios, with the Federal share ranging from 50 up to 75 percent. States with per capita incomes of less than the national average would receive more than 50 per cent of their total payments from the Federal Government.

The bill does not assure the availability of adequate public aid to all needy persons. To the extent that individual states and localities fail to provide assistance for particular classes of persons or fail to meet minimum standards of adequacy in their grants, there will be

deficiencies in the social security program. In spite of this danger, I believe that the provision of public assistance should remain a state-administered program. With a comprehensive social insurance program carrying the major responsibility for providing a substitute for earned income, and providing also medical and hospital care, the need for public assistance will be essentially residual and individualized. None of the reasons which argue for a national social insurance system apply in the case of public assistance, except the need to assure adequate and equitable protection to all persons.

I prefer, consequently, to work toward more adequate public aid for needy persons through Federal financial aid and encouragement to the states. The removal of the matching maximums on individual payments and the provision for special Federal financial aid to low-income states should substantially improve existing public assistance programs. It may also prove necessary to include in the Federal legislation minimum standards as to the adequacy of the assistance provided in any state which receives Federal matching funds.

We have a smoothly operating national insurance organization which has had experience in the collection of contributions, in the maintenance of wage records, in the establishment of local offices, and in the payment of benefits. The Social Security Board has reported to the Congress each year since 1941 that it saw no administrative reasons for further delay in extending old age and survivors insurance to all the excluded groups. It has also recommended adding protections against sickness and disability and the costs of medical care.

Each extension of the program will call for the development of some new administrative techniques. There comes a time, however, when the plea for further limited experimentation is only an excuse for evading the job that must be done. We can learn the procedures that are unique to each specific phase of the job only by doing them. Thanks to the social vision and the administrative skill of the Social Security Board, we are ready and able to move ahead on a broad and comprehensive front.

It may be instructive to consider the opposition to our bill. The spearhead of the attack is the National Physicians Committee for the Extension of Medical Service. This organization boasts of having distributed more than 15,000,000 pamphlets attacking our bill; it sends out weekly releases to 12,000 newspapers and magazines. That represents a lot of paper and a lot of money. We know that the Committee receives substantial financial support from the drug and patent medicine industries. We know also that in many communities

doctors are coerced into contributing to the Committee. Though nominally an independent organization, the Committee is lock, stock, and barrel a corporate creature of the American Medical Association, admittedly organized to do the legislative lobbying which the American Medical Association dare not undertake in its own name. The Committee appears to be in alliance with a number of other reactionary groups, of which the Insurance Economics Society of America, a lobbying organization created by certain accident and health insurance companies, is one of the most active.

What arguments do these groups advance? They are hardly arguments. Rather, the method is one of misrepresentation and appeal to prejudice and fear. The bill is called "socialistic" and "communist." The charge is made that the Surgeon General would become a dictator over the entire medical profession. The bill is misquoted, to support such ridiculous falsehoods as that the Surgeon General would assign all patients to specific doctors, or that the Surgeon General would not permit doctors to work more than eight hours a day, or that insurance doctors would stop in the middle of an operation if it were time to quit work. The bill is damned for providing free medical care—an obvious falsehood. Then again, the contribution rate of 6 percent for all benefits—or even the 12 percent combined employer-employee rate—is referred to in such a way as to lead the uninformed reader to think that his medical care benefits alone would cost this much.

This opposition is also linked with that from unemployment compensation administrators and certain chambers of commerce—groups that are more interested in opposing Federal action for the public welfare or in getting reduced taxes for employers than they are in assuring security to the common man.

Make no mistake about the seriousness of the issues we are facing. If we want social security as one of the guarantees of freedom for the individual and security for the family in the postwar world, we must act vigorously and quickly. On a matter of such importance, the Congress wants to know that there is widespread understanding of the proposed legislation. Of smoke screens there have been plenty since the bill was introduced. We need public hearings, but we need also study and discussion and understanding of the bill in local communities throughout the country. Public-spirited citizens should encourage objective and open-minded discussion of the provisions, objectives, and methods of the bill at every opportunity.

It is vitally necessary for each person to study carefully the proposed amendments to the Social Security Act and then to act as

a one-man information bureau. Under our representative system Congressmen vote for what they believe to be the desires of their constituents. It is essential, therefore, that social workers, who are aware of existing needs and know how they can be met, inform the public and the Congress. Every local, state, and Congressional representative should be fully informed concerning the facts and the misstatements about the bill.

If we are to have a comprehensive and adequate social security program within the next twenty or thirty years, it should be in operation before the war ends. If we are to assure an orderly demobilization from wartime to peacetime conditions of full employment, we shall need a strong national unemployment insurance program and a national employment service. If this bill is enacted into law soon enough, unemployed workers and their families will be carried through the weeks or months or years while industry is reconverting; older workers will be able to retire after the extra years of service they have given during the war; returning servicemen and women will be helped to make the readjustment to civilian life. All of us will know that we can have adequate medical care for ourselves and our families and a continuing family income in case of sickness or disability.

Each of these protections will be needed in the postwar period. Quite as important as the material benefits will be the security of mind—the freedom from fear of insecurity—that such a comprehensive program would bring. With this security we shall have the freedom and the strength to build that better world that we want for ourselves and our children.

A STABLE ECONOMY FOR THE POSTWAR WORLD

By DON D. HUMPHREY

IT IS AN ARRESTING FACT, and a disturbing commentary on our institutions, that our economic system has worked better during the war than it did in the preceding years. It has worked better in that more has been produced. It has worked better in that distribution has been more equitable and more economical. Industrial production stands 125 percent above the 1939 level. Income has been more widely spread. Distribution of food has been more healthful. We now have a more equitable tax system.

Despite the fact that individual incomes have more than doubled for the nation as a whole, we have avoided a runaway spiral of prices. As a result of price control, we have reduced our personal debts and have accumulated personal savings at an unheard-of rate. Our concern now is with how our economic, political, and social systems are going to function during the postwar transition and in the peacetime that will follow. We are anxious, of course, to be rid of wartime controls and we feel the cumulative strain of several years of government orders and regulations that have been irritating at the best and maddening at the worst. Most of us have accepted these controls as necessary, but in our hearts we do not like them.

After the Armistice on November 11, 1918, the major controls were lifted almost overnight. Opinion was unanimous that prices would move downward and that maximum prices were entirely academic. Removal of price control was begun by the War Industries Board two days after the signing of the Armistice, and by the end of the year, the price structure had virtually been restored to the play of free-market forces. The Fuel Administration began to liquidate its activity four days after the signing of the Armistice. By the end of January it had removed all restrictions on the prices of coke and coal. The Food Administration began liquidation in mid-December, 1918. Between January 10 and February 22, 1919, licensing requirements were withdrawn, thus automatically canceling all food regula-

tions.¹ There was a general desire to abolish, not only price controls, but all government regulations as rapidly as possible. Even a modest program suggested by the Secretary of War, Newton D. Baker, under which the Army would have been demobilized in accordance with occupational employment opportunities, was ignored in the general impatience to get men out of the Army. By April, 1919, almost two million men had been demobilized. At the same time, the operations of war plants were abruptly reduced by the cancellation of contracts. Neither the Federal Government nor the state and local governments had planned any compensating public works programs to cushion the transitional shock. Purchasing power created by the war was rapidly cut off. Prices began to fall.

In the following year four million men were demobilized, government expenditures were cut from an annual rate of about twenty-two billion dollars to about five billion dollars. Between two and three million men were discharged from the production of war goods. Nevertheless, the bottom did not drop out of the market. Consumer buying continued. Automobile output and employment in furniture manufacturing, both of which had been sharply curtailed during the war, began to rise before the end of 1918. In the manufacture of clothing and textiles, employment rose, as did the output of all nondurable goods. After the spring of 1919, in fact, total employment increased.

Wholesale prices, which reached a low three months after the Armistice, began a rise which continued rapidly until May, 1920. In fifteen months all wholesale prices increased by 87 percent, the peak being 55 percent higher than the levels prevailing in the month before the Armistice.

The cost of living rose rapidly. In sixteen months the index rose by 29 percent. In the same short space of time, retail food prices rose 34 percent, reaching a level of 126 percent above that of July, 1914, the last pre-war month. Retail clothing prices also rose continuously, and by June, 1920, the clothing index was triple that of the July, 1914, level. At the time of the Armistice it had been double that level. Sugar, which sold for five cents a pound when the war broke out in 1914 and for eleven cents a pound when the war ended in 1918, reached twenty-seven cents a pound in 1920. Bituminous coal, which sold at \$5.50 a ton in 1914 and \$8.00 a ton in 1918, reached \$12.50 in 1920.

The postwar inflation caused such popular indignation that in

¹ Agreements already made to maintain stable prices on hogs, sugar, rice, cotton and cottonseed products were maintained until the second quarter of 1919.

August, 1919, the President sent a message to Congress. As a result, food controls were revived and, in fact, were extended even beyond their wartime scope. These efforts to re-establish controls constituted an admission that they had been dropped too hastily. But it was too late, and the attempt to reintroduce price regulation proved to be futile.

These experiences, someone has suggested, ought to be carefully put together and labeled "How Not to Do It."

Now there are some who say that we have ogres in the Federal Government who want to control merely for the sake of controlling. It is the opposite extreme, I think, that we need to guard against, namely, the danger of lifting controls merely for the sake of lifting them.

Why has our economy worked better during the war? First, there has been no problem of markets. We needed more goods of every description, and the enormous volume of war production meant that wages were put into the pockets of workers although there was not a corresponding supply of goods on which their money could be spent.

Secondly, there have been controls which prevented the expansion of production from being hampered by speculation and artificial shortages. There have been controls which prevented hoarding of goods. While these controls have operated most imperfectly, we have obtained a vast increase in output together with a drastic change in its composition and character, as for example, in the shift from the manufacture of automobiles to the production of tanks.

Thirdly, is the spirit of agreement regarding the basic job to be done. Patriotism covers part of it. We have operated under a forced draft that would not have been possible under normal conditions. But beyond that, I believe that we have done so well because the government was generally supported by all groups in the community. Moreover, we felt assured that whatever needed to be done would be done, and because of this assurance, business and labor and agriculture were willing to produce.

In this, I find the key to our postwar needs. If we want to make our economy work as well during the peace as it has during the war, it can be done by means of this same attitude. Despite the large backlog of unfilled demand for consumer goods, and despite the vast accumulation of personal savings, one senses everywhere an uncertainty regarding the turn of events at the war's end. Collapse has followed every war in the past, and we are naturally anxious lest history repeat itself. Uncertainty and fear can cause consumers

and businessmen alike to withhold their orders, "to see what happens first." If a postwar collapse is to be avoided, we must first banish the fear of collapse. Only the government can provide such assurance. The firmer the commitment that the government stands ready to sustain a stable economy at high levels of production and employment, the more effective and far-reaching the guarantee, the less will be the positive action which the government will be called upon to take in order to make good its commitment. The more effective the guarantee—the more widely it is accepted—the greater will be the confidence in the economic outlook and the more certainly will the backlog of demand be translated into orders in the market.

The Federal Government is now buying war goods at an annual rate of \$75,000,000,000 which is greater than the total national income before the war. What will happen when this demand is withdrawn and when, in addition, six or eight million soldiers return, looking for jobs?

Today the labor market is geared to a forty-eight-hour work week, with time-and-a-half for all hours in excess of forty. The first effect of any general easing of the manpower situation will be an elimination of overtime. Moving from a forty-eight-hour to a forty-hour week will entail a cut of just under 25 percent in weekly wages.

At the same time, reconversion will shift employment from the war industries back to civilian industries. Quite apart from the matter of overtime, this means a reduction in earnings, because it is in the war industries that the highest wages are being paid. Even if total employment is maintained at present peak levels and even if wage rates remain unchanged, these two factors alone will reduce the annual purchasing power of wage earners by fifteen or twenty billion dollars. If employment drops 10 percent and wage rates are lowered 10 percent, that will take another \$15,000,000,000 out of our consumer demand. Thus we are confronted with an estimate of thirty to thirty-five billion dollars that will not go into pay envelopes. Can the economy take such a blow?

These adjustments will be difficult. But no one should doubt our ability to make them successfully, provided that the national buying power can be sustained and markets found for all the goods we can produce.

Can we find those markets? First, there is an enormous backlog of demand for millions of automobiles, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, house furnishings, and other durable goods. We shall come

out of the war with over one hundred billion dollars of wartime savings with which to purchase them.

Secondly, there is a vast backlog of business investment requirements. Stocks will have to be replenished, obsolete and worn equipment will have to be replaced, many plants will have to be expanded to fit increased civilian requirements. Business will have liquid reserves accumulated during the war amounting to more than twenty-five billion dollars.

Thirdly, there is a great backlog of regular public construction, local, state, and Federal. In recent years many necessary projects have had to be suspended for lack of manpower and materials; even essential repairs and replacements have been postponed.

Fourthly, full advantage must be taken of the export market. Europe and Asia will need vast quantities of goods of every character and description, and ours will be the only industrial economy which will not have suffered the ravages of war. I have no doubt that the greatest single contribution that we can make to world prosperity and peace will be to maintain full employment at home. By doing this we shall be serving, not only ourselves, but the cause of international stability as well.

Finally, there are vast markets which have never been tapped. There are still millions of our farmers who do not have electricity, who still lack modern improvements and conveniences of every description. Before the war there were tens of millions of city dwellers who were living below the level of proper nutrition, who lacked the money to buy decent houses or to wear decent clothing. Although our production of automobiles, house furnishings, and equipment was large, it was still far below the actual requirements of our citizens. Moreover, as a nation we have unfilled needs for more schools and colleges, for more hospitals, for more parks, for modern highways and bridges—in fact, for the development of the complete, modern, social, economic civilization with benefits for all which we, of all nations, are so fully capable of building.

Taken together, these demands can more than fill the void that will be left when government war expenditures are tapered off. They can keep our economy running indefinitely at peak capacity. But we must remember that these are only potential demands. Whether they will materialize in actual orders will depend, first of all, upon how effectively we plan the job of unwinding our wartime economy. If, when the war is over, we fail to take full and immediate advantage of our export opportunities, if we are not prepared with a program of public works when it is needed, business activity will

slow down. If that happens, employment, pay rolls, and prices will begin to fall, and the vast potential demand will dry up.

Men who have lost their jobs may draw from the family savings to buy bread and to pay rent. But will they buy a new refrigerator and a new car? And will they make a first payment on a new home? If we permit the level of employment to drop, most of the hundred billion dollars of wartime savings will stay in the banks.

What is true of consumers is also true of businessmen. Businessmen do not invest on a falling market. If prices are dropping, there will not be much restocking and there will not be much replacing of equipment. To a large extent the \$25,000,000,000 of reserves that business has accumulated will remain right where they are—in reserve.

In other words, if we permit the economy to sag immediately after the war, we face the menace of deflation feeding upon itself. There is a school of economists who believe that deflation is necessary to our economic health. Prices and wages, they say, must be cut back before we can go ahead. This view is comparable in economics to the blood-letting stage in the development of medicine. Prices were farther out of balance at the end of the deflation in 1932 than they were at the beginning in 1929. I do not accept the old dogma that we must go through the wringer of liquidation and bankruptcy after a few years of prosperity. Balance is not achieved by cumulative movements whereby wages are reduced because prices are reduced and prices, in turn, are further cut because wages are cut. We need no general deflation. Quite the contrary: high wages must be maintained. It was the high wages achieved during World War I that accounted in a large measure for the prosperity of the twenties, and it was the failure to raise wages or adjust prices in the late twenties that contributed to the collapse. I distinguish, of course, between the reduction in prices to match technological reductions in cost and cyclical or postwar deflation. We must have low profit margins per unit and efficient production for mass markets.

The greatest obstacle to maintaining the high level of performance that our economy has proved itself capable of is distrust of government. The steel workers, who see the threat of a return to the irregular work of prewar years, demand a guaranteed annual wage. Farmers, fearing a collapse, demand support prices. Business demands the liquidation of the vast industrial empire that the government now owns in a manner that will interfere least with private enterprise.

It will be generally agreed that only the Federal Government can

provide the requisite guarantee that our people want. Yet the distrust of government lies deeply imbedded in our history. Most of us have been familiar since childhood with the cartoons that represented the politician as a fat bureaucrat with graft bulging from his pockets. This was understandable. We were a new nation, and even a generation ago the periodic breakdown of the economy could be tolerated. There was a time when most of our city workers were not more than a generation from the farm, and when depression hit and the plant closed, the individual could return to the family farm and there find a living.

Although we wish to cling to the old tradition, the fact is that we have adopted the industrial system. Our economy has grown infinitely more complex. We are no longer individually self-sufficient; we are dependent upon outside markets. Industrial workers can no longer retreat to the family farm. In fact, the farmer of today is almost completely dependent upon the markets provided by the industrial workers. Moreover, our leading markets have become international ones. We still like to indulge in the pleasant, romantic idea of retiring to a few acres to make a living and to find security; but we know that the industrial system is here to stay. Mass production is too efficient for us to give it up. This necessarily means that, for most of us, the kind of living we make and the kind of security that we find will be in the big industrial cities. We shall find a reasonable security and make a good living only if we have the imagination and courage to make the industrial system serve us as well in peace as it does in war. And this requires a re-examination of our attitude toward government.

We can no longer tolerate the breakdowns and the wholesale bankruptcies that periodically beset us in the past. Therefore, the function of government in a highly organized industrial society must be to sustain the level of national income at all times in order to insure that markets are available for all that can be produced under conditions where everyone who can and wants to work has a job. It will be a difficult enough adjustment for our soldiers to come home to jobs and to security; for them to return to unemployment and insecurity would be intolerable.

The central function of the postwar government will not be to regulate the economy, as has been necessary during the war, but to provide the framework within which free enterprise can regularly produce as bountifully in peace as it has in war. We accepted a generation ago the control of credit by the Federal Reserve Board; we now need to put fiscal policy on a similar footing.

When, for any reason, the flow of private investment and consumption expenditures diminish, the government can, by decreasing its taxes and increasing its expenditures, offset that decline. On the other hand, when the flow of private expenditures increases to a point which threatens inflation, through increased taxes and decreased government expenditures, the economy can be kept on an even keel. This is an extremely powerful device. By determining the time and the rate at which it releases purchasing power into the markets through its expenditures, the government can maintain an even flow of purchasing power at levels sufficient to provide markets for all we can produce.

I believe that we shall have less government and a healthier, more vigorous free enterprise by planning and agreeing in advance upon a program of government action rather than by waiting for disaster and then resorting to makeshifts. Any suggestion that government action will be too little and too late will confirm the fear of collapse and unloose the forces of deflation. If we are unprepared to accept enough government in time, we invariably end with too much. If we are reluctant to grant the government enough power to meet its essential obligations, the unsolved tasks overtake us, and in the ensuing crisis, we are obliged to go far beyond what would have been necessary if we had taken steps sooner. Our experience in the thirties yields a significant lesson. Because we did not promptly require the government to assume responsibility for stemming the growing depression in 1930, the complete collapse of our economy in 1932 left us with no alternative but for the government to move in much further in order to put our economy back on the road to recovery.

If we want to avoid too much government after the war, we must recognize in advance the proper functions of government and we must agree on the policies and on the appropriate organization to discharge those functions efficiently and democratically. We can avoid the controls that will surely be demanded after a collapse by planning now to avoid that collapse. Fear, which is half the cause of collapse, can be banished by being firm in our commitments and by seeing to it that they are neither too little nor too late.

THE SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY OF LABOR IN THE POSTWAR WORLD

By *IRVING ABRAMSON*

LABOR is no more, nor is it less, a part of society than is any other economic or professional group. Labor's contribution and its responsibilities to society must be toward the common weal of the people as a whole. It is just as true to say that what helps labor helps society as it is to say that what truly helps society helps labor. Labor can no longer be isolated in the community. The worker who belongs to a labor organization is the same person who is an air-raid warden in his community. He goes with his family to church on Sunday, belongs to the "Y," and is the fellow you see walking on Main Street Saturday night. He is a part of the community and expects to assume his share of community responsibility. On the other hand, he expects his labor organization to take a vigorous part in the battle for a better life, and to that extent the union has an obligation to carry on that fight for him.

When President Roosevelt announced the Four Freedoms as the prize for victory, it became the responsibility of each of us to secure those freedoms in terms of reality. Of the Four Freedoms, freedom from want is most closely related to social work, and labor and social work must coöperate in achieving that freedom.

Social work, like medicine, ideally should be preventive, yet it is only after the breakdown has taken place that the social worker is called into action. Social work and organized labor are natural allies. We have an unwritten pact with the underprivileged and undernourished to lift them up, but this pact should be implemented with a much broader understanding of our responsibilities. Although we recognize the importance of treating social ills, it is nevertheless of far greater importance to prevent the social breakdown that breeds the trouble. Organized labor has for its objective the prevention of those social ills that social work treats. Let us broaden our alliance and join together in this fight for prevention.

Social work recognizes the major cause of social breakdown.

Howard R. Phelps, Professor of Sociology at the University of Pittsburgh, stated that "unemployment is generally conceded to rank among the foremost causes of social distress." Therefore there can be no program, no hope for the future, without one basic premise, and that is security of a man's right to earn his bread. No platitudes about a better America after the war, no Fourth of July speeches can disguise this real premise. Not even the tyranny of words in the slogan "free enterprise" must be permitted to hide it. The basic postwar requirement that full employment be realized through the total utilization of all our productive resources must be a public mandate.

War is a tragic way to learn, but the almost overnight conversion of a peaceful nation to an economy producing the implements of war for all the United Nations has demonstrated what government and industry can do if they must, in response to a critical public responsibility. Complete conversion of the automobile industry was accomplished only after the Federal Government ordered the industry to stop making cars for private use. In 1940 and 1941 when the government demanded that the industry convert to war production, its representatives resisted that demand on the grounds that the auto industry was highly specialized and conversion would therefore be impossible. The same representatives who in 1940 protested the industry's inability to convert recently reported to the Truman Committee that the auto industry had converted its machinery to war purposes to the extent of 89 percent. This miracle was accomplished only by government planning and direction and, in many cases, under government compulsion.

If industry can be guided toward full employment for war production, it can accept the same counsel in gearing itself to all-out production for peace. The challenge of social plagues brought on by an economic war is no less impelling than the challenge of military war. If private industry fails to meet this challenge, it becomes the duty of the government to meet its responsibilities to the American people.

If in 1932 a national annual income of \$40,000,000,000 meant a depression with social and moral bankruptcy, no slogans or pious platitudes about free enterprise should deceive us into returning to an economy of scarcity and to the sickening days of that decade. If our current wartime annual income of \$200,000,000,000 means full employment and an economy of abundance, then it is the duty of the American people and of their representatives to maintain that level of production during peacetime. If it required a War Produc-

tion Board to plan a speedy conversion and to maintain a war economy, then we should be ready to accept a Peace Production Board to reconvert and, if necessary, to maintain a peace economy of full employment and abundance.

If we are really going to win this war, we must apply the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms in Alabama and Mississippi as well as in Germany and Japan. If peace brings mass unemployment, we are fair game for a native version of the fascism that our armies are fighting. It would be a mockery indeed for our fighting men to come home from battle against Hitler, only to become, through economic desperation, followers and advocates of an American counterpart who would offer them security in return for their freedom.

The war has revealed a shocking need for a comprehensive public health program. Nine hundred thousand of the first 2,000,000 Americans who were called up by selective service were rejected because of disease or physical defects. Widespread malnutrition among children of low-income rural families was reported by the Farm Security Administration in 1941. This report showed that in twenty-one counties of seventeen states, one child in every twelve was undernourished, and one in every seventeen had rickets. A survey of 150,000 young people, sixteen to twenty-four years of age, working on projects of the National Youth Administration showed that nine-tenths were in need of medical or dental care. More than one in ten of these boys and girls was 15 percent or more underweight.

This brings us to a consideration of America's greatest social problem—the need for an adequate program of health insurance and social security. In June, 1943, a bill broadening the base of social security was introduced in Congress by Senator Robert F. Wagner, of New York, Senator James E. Murray, of Montana, and Representative John D. Dingell, of Michigan. The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill was quickly shelved by Congress in spite of a message from the President urging its consideration. The bill is opposed by powerful groups, including part of the medical profession.

Just as the National Association of Manufacturers has an allergy to the name "C.I.O.," so the medical profession seems to be allergic to the term "socialized medicine." Without discussing the merits or demerits of that ghastly idea, the doctors who are rallying the opposition to the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill should read the bill. They would be happy to find the following assurances in the proposed law:

1. Only doctors who desire to take part in the program would do so.

2. The patient would have a right to choose his own physician.

3. Doctors would continue their private practices and see people at their offices, at the patient's home, or in clinics, as at present.

The proposed law does not interfere with the personal relationship of physician and patient; the only difference is that the doctor's bill for an insured patient would be sent to a pooled fund instead of to the patient. The net result would be a tremendous demand for medical attention, and a great improvement in the people's health. How can any doctor, whose profession is dedicated to the advancement of human welfare and public health, object to a law that will help him achieve those results, not only for people who can afford to pay for them, but for all persons in need? People in need of medical attention should receive it as a right and not at the will of private charity, and this bill attempts to meet the inadequacies of the present social security law by providing for a minimum of subsistence and health protection to every American family.

One of the most serious inadequacies of the present social security law is the absence of uniform minimum standards for unemployment insurance. Each state sets up its own standard, thereby establishing interstate competition in unemployment benefits. Forty-three states have adopted merit rating, a device by which employers' rates of payment are cut in proportion to the reduction of benefits allowed to their employees. Employers are thereby invested with a direct interest in fighting the liberalization of allowances and benefits. Progress in each state is made difficult by the argument that employers will suffer from competition with companies in other states that are subject to lower pay-roll taxes. One state may allow benefits for twenty weeks, while another will limit them to four weeks. Under the present law, millions of workers are excluded from the benefits of the law if they work in agriculture, in domestic service, or in small establishments.

What moral or human justice is there in a society that permits a pregnant woman to feel her first labor pains on the assembly line, and then allows her to return to her job before she is physically able to resume work? What justice is there in having an ambulance stretcher serve as a woman's delivery room because her unemployed family could not provide the necessary prenatal care and preparations? This proposed bill gives recognition for the first time to the

need of prenatal maternity care and the necessary hospitalization for mothers.

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill tries to eliminate unsocial and cruel injustices by making provision for unemployment insurance, old age retirement, and medical care for the needy. It is the social responsibility, not only of labor, but of social work to see that the hungry and disinherited are restored to the dignity of human beings. They must be assured freedom from want to the end that all men who are created equal may truly pursue life, liberty, and happiness.

Nor can we fulfill our postwar responsibility in providing an American standard of living for all the people without providing decent housing conditions. Programs for public housing have been largely associated with plans to put men to work. That consideration, important as it is, should be only a by-product of America's need for suitable housing.

In the postwar year of 1922 began a private building boom of residential housing never before attained in this country. However, according to the Federal Housing Authority, most of the houses built during those years were meant for those in the middle and upper income brackets. Little or no attention was paid to housing the lowest income groups, who were in the greatest need of better quarters.

Public housing as it developed under the Wagner-Steagall Act was the first opportunity afforded to Negroes to abandon their slums and secure good living conditions on a comprehensive scale. No social problem has received more attention in recent years than discrimination. Though the problem is far from being solved, considerable progress has been made through the efforts of labor and other progressive forces in America. Discrimination against Negroes or those of any race or creed is one of the social ills which the Congress of Industrial Organizations has attacked with gratifying results.

Despite the tradition of mutual fear and distrust, labor and management have found that it is possible to work together toward a common cause. Management has found, much to its surprise, that the unions are not necessarily trying to take over, and that production and efficiency can be increased in direct ratio to labor-management trust and coöperation. In this war, enlightened management and responsible unions have worked together in the common cause of all-out production for victory, and the successful job of outfitting and supplying, not only our own war machine, but the armies of our allies stands as a tribute to both. Surely it is

permissible to assume that labor and management need not return to the weary defeat of limited production and dog eat dog.

Organized labor also has a political job, in common with other progressive elements of society. We must elect liberal officials who will truly represent the people of a democracy and who will advance this program of human welfare and extend its services to all the American people. The responsibility of the government for the welfare of the people must be increased to meet the challenge of the Four Freedoms. In a democracy, the politicians either represent the people and social progress, or they represent the privileged few. The quality of political leadership is as high or as low as the voters make it. It is in the field of politics that American labor has most neglected its responsibility to society. Those who fight for democratic government and the ideal of true public service in political office have had to overcome considerable mass pessimism about the mere possibility of clean politics. But labor cannot afford to remain isolated politically from other progressive forces any more than it can remain isolated socially. There is an awakened political consciousness on the part of labor. The C.I.O. has pledged that each member shall accept what is not only his privilege, but his duty as a voter. We are determined that the voice of the people shall speak through the people's government. We are determined that statesmanship shall become once more the art of serving the state and its citizens.

The C.I.O. is pledged to a related task, that of joining with other forces of progress, not only to strengthen the common effort in building a true democracy in America, but also to increase the understanding of labor on the part of those who want what labor wants, and the understanding of other progressive forces, such as social work, on the part of labor. Too long labor has felt isolated from the rest of the community. Too long, also, has the rest of the community been isolated from labor.

Too long, far too long, have labor and other progressive elements sought a common goal through separate means. The fault, possibly, is mainly labor's. We have for many years been engaged in a life-and-death struggle for our very existence, and such a bitter war has bred suspicion of coöperation with those whom we have considered to be outside the labor movement. It is instinctive for workers to distrust those whom they do not identify as workers. But we recognize our mistake. Those who seek to plan the kind of world which this war is being fought to win need the full support of all whom a better society will most benefit.

Labor in general, and the C.I.O. in particular, has taken an increased interest in community affairs as a result of the war, but this interest will not end with the war. We have accepted community welfare and health problems as ours, and we are both supporting and coöperating with social agencies in attacking these problems. Through the war chest movement, labor has become the largest single source of support for private welfare. C.I.O. representation throughout the country on the boards of social agencies, councils, and community chests has increased from a bare ninety, two years ago, to well over three thousand, according to recent surveys. Both the C.I.O. and the A. F. of L., in coöperation with community chests and councils and national agencies, are pushing a program of labor participation in local welfare and health planning to insure the greater integration of labor's point of view in the field of social work. The C.I.O. War Relief Committee has placed community chest and welfare work on an organized basis, and we are aiming to make it part of every union's agenda.

It is true that the C.I.O. is interested in extending the scope of government responsibility in social welfare and health programs, because we feel that private agencies cannot do the whole job fully or adequately. But we recognize that private agencies have served society well in the past and have their place. Workers know workers' problems and workers' essential aspirations; social workers are specialists in social administration. Labor needs social work's vision and understanding of social techniques.

RELIEF AND REHABILITATION IN WARTORN COUNTRIES

By FRED K. HOEHLER

THE DAY WILL COME when bombs no longer fall on Great Britain and the Continent and guns no longer roar in the Pacific. But with that great and good news we will be presented with an appalling spectacle of human misery and of devastation.

There is little need to paint pictures of human suffering or to pile up data and statistics of the horror which cannot be written in figures or words. We are fully aware of the forced laborers, the hunted men and women, the homeless, and the refugees searching ceaselessly for release from the terror of the concentration camp and the fear of torture. No description can tell the suffering of the mother who must witness the gradual starvation of her children.

The need is great, and most of the people in the more fortunate countries realize it. Realizing it, they have acted. They are grimly determined, first of all, to destroy the power of the Nazi and the Jap. The next important step is to bring strength and health and opportunity to the liberated peoples. The answer of the United Nations is the creation of a relief and rehabilitation administration to bring resources, supplies, and personnel to the aid of a war-torn world and to provide for its people life, liberty, and the opportunity for a peaceful existence.

The establishment of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, a virtual "declaration of interdependence," is no longer news. Through its instrumentality forty-four nations accept joint responsibility for their mutual welfare. The representatives of these nations have expressed the conviction that there is a public responsibility for gathering their resources in a coöperative effort to relieve suffering and restore self-respect among people who have suffered deprivation, disease, and national disaster.

As soon as possible after the liberation the military forces will turn this second phase over to the civil authorities. The returned governments and the freed peoples will, of course, undertake as

much of the relief and rebuilding as they can manage, but some parts of the job cannot be done by the nations themselves even if they have considerable resources. Control of epidemics and repatriation of uprooted peoples are international responsibilities. International aid and concerted action will also be needed to make available the relief goods, to restore transport, utilities, and welfare services, and to restore production of food and clothing. UNRRA will bring such services as are requested by the military command or, later, by the constituted civil authorities.

The member nations of UNRRA must act promptly and efficiently. They will act for reasons of common humanity. To feed the starving, to clothe the naked, to bind up the wounds of the injured are duties of all men of good will. They will act also for reasons of military security. This is not only a postwar job, but a war job. Part of the task of UNRRA is to speed victory. If civilian conditions behind the lines in liberated areas are stabilized, the energies of our armies can be directed solely to fighting the war. If production in the liberated areas is restored and the strain on supply lines is relieved, vital shipping will be freed to speed victory elsewhere. Prompt relief of the needs of civilians in liberated areas will bring us new allies in the fight, it will encourage resistance among peoples who are still subjugated and thus hasten the enemy's downfall. UNRRA must also act for reasons of long-range economic security, reasons of enlightened self-interest. It would imperil the future prosperity and security of all of us if the liberated areas continued to be rife with unemployment, inflation, unrest, and disease. No one nation can today long shelter its own economy from the consequences of widespread economic and social paralysis.

The United States has an important part in this program, not simply because a large share of the funds will come from the Treasury of the United States, but because we are one of the nations able to produce food and goods, one of the nations whose fields and factories have not been bombed, and, moreover, because Herbert H. Lehman, former Governor of New York State, is serving as Director General of UNRRA. In accepting this honor Governor Lehman told the assembled delegates: "It is given us twice within the space of a lifetime to attempt to devise a peace in which all men can live in freedom from fear and want. We failed the last time. We dare not fail again!"

The preliminary work for the development of UNRRA began in September, 1941, when the governments of the United Kingdom,

the Dominions, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and the Continental European Allies met at St. James's Palace. They agreed that, while each government would be primarily responsible for the economic needs of its own people, there should be coördination of their respective plans. As a result of these meetings, an Inter-Allied Committee was set up to prepare estimates of postwar requirements of food, raw materials, and articles of prime necessity, together with an Allied Post-War Requirements Bureau which, in effect, formed its secretariat. This planning group performed well as a trail blazer.

The United States Government participated as soon as America entered the war. John G. Winant, United States Ambassador to the Court of St. James, appointed one of his staff as a member of the Inter-Allied Coördinating Committee. Other United States representatives in London assisted several of the technical advisory committees of the Inter-Allied Committee. In November, 1942, President Roosevelt announced the creation of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations with Herbert H. Lehman as its Director, to organize the American planning and participation in the relief activities with the United Nations.

The UNRRA Agreement, which comprised the charter and constitution for its operations, was formally signed on November 9, 1943. The Preamble thus sets forth the purpose of the new organization:

. . . that immediately upon the liberation of any area by the armed forces of the United Nations or as a consequence of retreat of the enemy, the population thereof shall receive aid and relief from their sufferings, food, clothing and shelter, aid in the prevention of pestilence and in the recovery of the health of the people, and that preparation and arrangements shall be made for the return of prisoners and exiles to their homes and for assistance in the resumption of urgently needed agricultural and industrial production and the restoration of essential services.

The central power of UNRRA is vested in its Council, on which each member government has one designated representative. The Council must meet at least twice a year, and it establishes policy for the Administration by majority vote. The Central Committee of the Council, consisting of the representatives of the United States, the United Kingdom, China, and the Soviet Union, is empowered to make emergency decisions between sessions of the Council, subject to reconsideration by the Council at its next meeting. Advice on policy for presentation to the Council or its Central Committee

is formulated by a series of committees on which are represented those governments most directly concerned. The Committee of Supplies is composed of representatives of those countries likely to be the principal sources of materials for relief and rehabilitation. The Committee of the Council for Europe and the Committee of the Council for the Far East consist of representatives from countries in those areas or from those directly concerned with their relief and rehabilitation.

The executive responsibility is centralized in the Director General, Herbert H. Lehman. Under him is a staff which will plan and carry out operations. Various committees of the Council on such matters as supply, industrial rehabilitation, health, welfare, and displaced persons will advise the Director General on matters of policy in their respective fields. UNRRA's funds will come from contributions by each of the countries whose home territory has not been invaded by the enemy. The standard of contribution is one percent of the national income of each country for the year ending June 30, 1943, which it is hoped will mean contributions totaling something in excess of two billion dollars. The British Parliament has voted a credit of \$325,000,000. In this country a resolution has been passed in both houses of Congress and signed by the President authorizing an appropriation of \$1,350,000,000—an amount equivalent to the cost to our government of waging the war for about five days.

Immediately following the signing of the UNRRA Agreement, the first meeting of the UNRRA Council was held in Atlantic City. Where the Agreement established the skeleton for UNRRA operations, the resolutions adopted by the Council in its first session put the real flesh of operating policy upon the basic frame.

UNRRA will function within a given geographical area only on the invitation of the government, either military or civil, exercising authority in the area. The form of its operations will in each case be subject to the approval of the governing authority. While the Preamble refers specifically to relief for liberated areas, authority is granted for UNRRA to function within occupied enemy or ex-enemy territory under the supervision of the military authority, provided the full cost of such operations is met by the enemy or ex-enemy country.

The supplies and services which UNRRA will provide are listed under four headings:

1. Relief supplies: essential consumer goods to meet immediate needs such as food, fuel, clothing, shelter, and medical supplies
2. Relief services: health and welfare and other technical services,

and services relating to the return of displaced persons to their own homes

3. Rehabilitation supplies and services: materials needed to enable a recipient country to produce and transport relief supplies

4. Rehabilitation of public utilities and services.

To understand the policies of UNRRA, it is important to bear in mind its use of the term "relief" and the limitations imposed on the use of the term "rehabilitation." "Relief" includes all supplies furnished without payment to a country, regardless of whether those supplies are distributed through the normal channels of trade and paid for by the ultimate consumer or whether they are given away to the needy. The term "social relief" has been coined by UNRRA to describe the free distribution of cash or supplies to the needy. Both types of operations are contemplated by UNRRA, but both are embraced by the term "relief." The Agreement and resolutions make it clear that "rehabilitation" is undertaken to speed relief and that UNRRA will not undertake economic reconstruction on a substantial scale. The basic settlement of foreign policy and international economic relationships precedent to reconstruction will form the core of peace and postwar negotiations. Such settlements are not in the realm of UNRRA, whose responsibility is limited to the re-establishment of that part of the economy of a liberated land which is essential to the minimum subsistence of its own people or which might provide relief supplies for other liberated areas. In reality it will probably concern itself chiefly with the re-establishment of agricultural production and a limited stimulation of the production of badly needed consumer goods.

There is an important resolution which provides that there shall be no discrimination on the basis of politics, race, religion, or economic status. There is provision for coöperation with intergovernmental agencies such as the League of Nations, the International Labor Office, and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, and for the use of services and goods provided by voluntary agencies.

The basic principles under which UNRRA will work include, first of all, the complete coöperation of the governments of all the United Nations in providing personnel, supplies, and other resources in order to facilitate relief and recovery in the lands which have borne the brunt of the occupation. UNRRA must become a resource for all governments and help the liberated peoples to develop their own resources and provide their own services.

Within the past two years there has been limited experience in

relief and rehabilitation in countries liberated from Axis domination. There was North Africa, in which there was coöperation between the British and American military forces, the United States Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation, and other British and American civilian agencies. Then there was the experience accumulated by the Allied Military Government, both in Sicily and in Italy. These operations had their successes and their failures, but above all they provided a fruitful experience for those who will encounter the bigger job on the Continent of Europe and elsewhere throughout the world.

The purpose of UNRRA is extremely practical and is limited both in scope and in time. Its purpose is neither the shaping of a brave new world nor the initiation of long-term policies with their far-reaching consequences, but principally to help the nations to help themselves in restoring more normal economic conditions as speedily as possible. At such time as these nations can stand on their own feet again, they will once more determine their own destinies. The function of UNRRA is to supply food, clothing, medicine, and the other necessities of life to the millions freed from Axis slavery and to assist them to produce by their own efforts such further articles as are necessary for relief.

The object of UNRRA is a speedy and effective mobilization of resources on an international scale, together with the creation of the necessary machinery for transport and distribution. There will be great shortages of certain essential foodstuffs or other commodities at the end of hostilities, transportation will be difficult, and even the problem of securing qualified skilled personnel for handling so stupendous a task will be a serious one. That is why it is important to complete all the preliminary work in time and to have both the plans and the machinery ready to begin operations at the earliest possible moment.

Dr. Alan Gregg, of the Medical Sciences Division of the Rockefeller Foundation, in a recent article tells us:

So bewilderingly diverse, so radically different from anything we Americans have seen or ever understood will be the conditions under which relief must be carried on, so desperate and unique will be the needs, that special thought and provision must be made to provide the best possible interchange of fact and opinion between personnel in the field and their administrative chiefs. The man in the field will encounter conditions he would never have believed possible unless he actually witnessed them. How to convey the reality to his boss in the U.S.A. or elsewhere. The field agent will probably receive instructions from his chief which

show so complete a misunderstanding that despair will follow close on the heels of astonishment.

Our experience in North Africa has shown that it is advisable to import only a small staff from the outside and to enroll local talent and local resources. This procedure will attain the objective of self-help and economic rehabilitation much faster than if we attempted to impose a group of alien workers on a country which is willing to help itself. We need only provide those resources which the country lacks temporarily and to add encouragement and the services which will assure the proper use of material aid.

The first and perhaps one of the most important of the tasks facing UNRRA is that of repatriating millions of "displaced" Europeans who will be seeking to return to their own countries, hopeful of finding permanent settlement and reuniting their families. When one recalls the administrative difficulties that resulted in the early years of the depression from the Federal transient program, which, incidentally, never reached more than 300,000 persons in any one month, it is easy to visualize the problems involved in helping these twenty to thirty million displaced persons in Europe alone.

Never has the world witnessed such vast population movements as have been set in motion by this war. The enormous range of air and mechanized warfare has multiplied the risks to which civilians are exposed. Authorities have, on the one hand, tried to check uncontrolled movements; and, on the other hand, have organized evacuation on a huge scale. In Europe these movements have from time to time reached a special pitch of intensity. Each German offensive drove before it a helpless mass of refugees and evacuees. Many people from the occupied countries have been moved as pawns of the Axis powers to engage in productive work for Germany. In China it is estimated that as a result of Japanese aggression from thirty to forty million people moved from their normal homes. In Malaya and Burma thousands more fled, seeking refuge. In Abyssinia and North Africa military occupation caused over a hundred thousand people to move from one place to another.

Perhaps the most ruthless of all these movements occurred in Europe, where the acknowledged aim of the German government was to redistribute the population and, in the process, to eliminate from Europe or to annihilate completely a million or more representatives of an old and great race. From the terror of Europe, hundreds of thousands of these hopeless people streamed to other countries and are still seeking a place to live and work. They will be a

responsibility of UNRRA, which will assist their governments to effect their return and resettlement.

When a country is liberated, one of the first problems confronting the Military Civil Affairs Section of the armies will be the vast hordes of people who have been thus released from Axis domination and seek to return to their homeland. UNRRA must be prepared to meet the problem with medical care and health programs, with food, clothing, and shelter, and with plans for registration and identification of these millions of people. All this will require imagination and patience, because those we are to aid have suffered untold tortures, and everything possible must be done to speed their recovery from suffering and humiliation to self-esteem and a means of self-support. Self-support can come more readily if our help is prompt and constructive.

In London the representatives of Allied governments whose countries are awaiting liberation are developing plans for the repatriation of their displaced people. Discussion of these preliminary plans by the Inter-Allied Commission on Repatriation and the UNRRA representatives resulted in the development of uniform plans for the proper registration and identification of the displaced people and provisions for protection of their health. In all this there is assured maximum coöperation between international agencies and the governmental organizations immediately concerned.

Another all-important part of UNRRA's job is that of providing health services to prevent the spread of epidemics. This is particularly urgent in the case of the workers who were forced by Axis tyranny to slave and live under congested and unsanitary conditions. Privation, hunger, and disease have made them easy victims of any epidemic, and epidemics have a singular disregard for national boundary lines. Basic to a health program are proper nutrition and social services, especially for children. UNRRA's Health and Welfare Divisions will provide supplies, trained personnel, and standards of service to assist the liberated governments in protecting the health of Europe.

As the governments of Europe and UNRRA face this task of resettling refugees, preventing disease, and restoring normal life, the use of every available resource will be essential. To this end trained and experienced health and welfare workers are being recruited, and established agencies are volunteering their assistance. To help meet the vast and complex relief needs in liberated areas it is the policy of UNRRA to enlist the participation of voluntary agencies in activities for which they have special competence and resources. In

order to avoid possible waste and duplication of effort the Agreement provides that foreign voluntary relief agencies may operate in areas receiving aid from UNRRA only with the consent of UNRRA and subject to the regulation of its Director General. The extent to which private agencies foreign to a country of operation will be used is a matter to be determined by UNRRA in consultation with the government or recognized national authority concerned.

Coöperation between UNRRA and voluntary agencies in the United States is maintained through the President's War Relief Control Board. UNRRA also coöperates closely with the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service, an organization of some twenty private agencies including the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, the American Friends Service Committee, the Young Women's Christian Association, the Near East Foundation, the National Catholic Welfare Conference, and related organizations.

Private agencies coöperating in the devastated areas may contribute in at least two ways to the relief of victims of war. In the first place, private agency personnel employed by their respective agencies may work under UNRRA supervision and direction, helping in the organization of those basic relief services for which UNRRA assumes responsibility. Coöperation of this type will be particularly common during periods of emergency or during the initial stages of UNRRA operation.

Secondly, the services of private agencies will be particularly useful in the organization under their own responsibility of services supplemental to the basic relief services which UNRRA may help to provide. Typical of such complementary services, which will be of tremendous importance, are special programs for the care of mothers and children; the provision of occupational activities for young people; the promotion of schemes of self-help and mutual aid; special medical services; and, in short, services to meet particular needs which neither UNRRA nor the governments may be prepared to meet. Relationships between UNRRA and the interested voluntary agencies are designed, not only to avoid gaps and possible waste in meeting grave human needs, but also to show, in practice, how governmental and nongovernmental agencies may effectively act together on matters of mutual concern.

UNRRA is definitely not an agency of economic reconstruction. It will not rebuild Europe or restore its shattered factories and mines and homes. True, one of its jobs is that of agricultural and industrial rehabilitation, but that rehabilitation, under the Agree-

ment of the forty-four nations and under the policies adopted by the Council, must be such as is essential to enable the liberated regions to produce relief supplies for their own use and, if possible, for the use of other liberated areas. In other words, UNRRA can furnish spare parts to repair the machinery of a canning factory which will can food for the use of the people of that country. If that is done, shipping and storage space will be saved, and UNRRA funds will not be needed for that part of the food which is produced and canned there. But UNRRA cannot build a new canning factory or rebuild one which has been totally destroyed by the war. Similarly, where the people of a city are homeless because of the destruction of buildings through bombardment, UNRRA can supply emergency shelters, but it cannot build new homes.

Some persons have expressed surprise at this limitation and have asked how the job of reconstruction is to be accomplished if UNRRA cannot do it. The answer is that this problem is one which must be met later. First things must come first, and the first demand after liberation will be for the relief of dire suffering and such rehabilitation as is essential for the adequate provision of that relief.

In the important plans for industrial and agricultural rehabilitation, UNRRA must count on all possible local participation from the countries in which it will operate. Some industrial and agricultural supplies and machinery furnished early will reduce the need for imported supplies of foods and goods.

In Europe are many idle plants which are equipped to produce the essentials of life. These plants must be restored so that they can produce goods which are essential to relief. Machine parts will be required, raw materials must be brought in. People will be helped to help themselves, and UNRRA will be able to move to the next task at hand.

In agriculture, the experience gained in North Africa and Italy will be useful. We found in North Africa, for instance, that a wheat crop essential to the support of the economy of that country was ready to harvest when the Axis troops were driven out of Bizerte and Tunis. That crop had to be saved. This was accomplished through the joint efforts of the armies, the civilian governments, and the British and American personnel serving with the North African Economic Board. Land mines were removed from the fields, gasoline and oil were made available for the tractors, and trucks were provided to carry the wheat to the elevators. Flour mills were put into operation, and bread from Tunisian wheat filled the stomachs of hungry people. This rather simple example provides a

bird's-eye view of the huge job which is ahead of us on the Continent.

It is evident to many that international coöperation can best be achieved on a functional basis where the purpose is clear and the goal definite. UNRRA may well be a forerunner of other United Nations programs based on specific jobs which can only be accomplished coöperatively by nations with a common purpose. These efforts will increase confidence among governments and improve their capacity to work together in even more difficult fields.

UNRRA requires the complete support of every individual who loves peace and looks forward to an era of understanding among nations. The nations with large populations and resources have a practical interest in the success of UNRRA because their own future and their very standard of living are dependent upon the survival of the nations to be liberated. The moral obligation to make UNRRA a success is obvious, for it must be clear to everyone that there can be no prosperity, no stability, no peace in a world which is torn by misery, starvation, and disease.

THE AMERICAN COUNCIL OF VOLUNTARY AGENCIES FOR FOREIGN SERVICE

By CLARENCE KING

LET THERE BE no misunderstanding as to the meaning of the term "community organization" as it will be used in describing the formation of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service. Webster first defines a community as a body of people living together in the same place and under the same laws; according to Webster's second definition, a community is a body of people having a common interest. To what extent is the Council a community of interest and by what steps was this common interest created? Five steps can be identified, and in each one there is a lesson in the difficult and little understood art of community organization.

The first phase might be called the "snowball" period, which took place from January to May, 1943. There are those who believe that any movement of this kind, if it is to be an enduring success, must start with the building of a small, cohesive center. That seems to have been the case here.

Recall how a child begins to roll a large snowball. He first packs together a small, firm, central ball. Once he has this made and gets the snow to pack and begins to roll up on the central ball, his work is half done. Thereafter all he needs is enough snow and a nice slope for the ball to roll on indefinitely, getting larger and larger. The all-important thing is to get a unity and a cohesion at the center which will attract added particles. He does not go out into a field, shovel the snow together in a mound of equal softness, round it off, and say, "Here is my snowball." He knows it would fall apart. And so it is in community organization. The slow and steady building of that central unity is essential. If that is well done, all else will follow.

In the case of the American Council, the central core consisted of eight or ten people who met frequently and informally throughout the winter and spring of 1943. There was Ruth Larned, of the In-

ternational Migration Service; Mary E. Hurlbutt, Assistant Professor of Social Work at the New York School of Social Work; Joseph P. Chamberlain, Professor of Public Law at Columbia University; and George L. Warren, who is now with the United States State Department. There were several others who sat with them from time to time, all with a common interest in relief work abroad, all with their thoughts turned on the recent establishment of the Office of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation Operations with former Governor Herbert Lehman at its head. At times Clarence Pickett, of the American Friends Service Committee, met with them. Sometimes they invited in a representative of one of the governments-in-exile.

The second lesson in this process is the technique of "indirect leadership." George L. Warren was one of the "indirect" or "invisible" leaders who helped to get the Council started although he never had any official part in it. The essence of indirect leadership is to give others the credit, to inspire and energize them, to get them started, to counsel them until they proceed under their own steam. Both Mr. Warren and Miss Hurlbutt gave such leadership, although neither one is, nor ever was, a member of the formal Council.

Perhaps the third lesson is the importance of a wisely chosen "visible" leader. For a council, which someone has described as "an organization within which we can persuade each other," the visible or "direct" leader must not be too dynamic, lest the enterprise become "his" and not "theirs." He must be obviously selfless in order to inspire complete trust and to shame anyone who might be tempted by selfish competitive considerations into relinquishing them and taking a broad-minded part in the common enterprise. He must have wisdom to match the serpent, without his guile. The American Council found such a person in Joseph P. Chamberlain, of Columbia. His leadership became apparent late in this formative period when early in June, 1943, he brought about a conference with Mr. Lehman in Washington. As head of OFRRO, Mr. Lehman officially requested Mr. Chamberlain to convene representatives of the large national agencies that were engaged in overseas operations.

And so came the fourth step, the official convening from August 17 to October 21, 1943, of the fifteen chief agencies "operating" in the field of overseas relief. By the slow and democratic process of complete mutual participation, by-laws were drafted, elections were held, and even before the Atlantic City conference at which the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration was

born, the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service was off to a good start, with a common purpose uniting the original fifteen agencies.

The fifth and most recent stage in the growth of the Council contains a further lesson in community organization. Gradually, additional agencies were added to the Council until now there are thirty-four. To have brought them all together at once by some governmental fiat without the preliminary building of any central core would not have resulted in the true unity which is felt at the Council's meetings. At the request of the President's War Relief Control Board, most of the money-raising agencies interested in relief in different countries abroad have slowly been added to the Council. The welding of all these groups has not been easy, and it is still in process, but because of the initial cohesion which was so wisely established, it is going forward with quite remarkable success. Today, in its close relationship with UNRRA, the American Council presents to the Director General and his staff a united group of voluntary agencies for foreign service.

What should be the relation of the voluntary agencies to UNRRA? That is an important, current question, debated not only in this country, but in Great Britain, where there is an older council of British agencies, and in Egypt, where there is a similar council and where representatives of UNRRA and the voluntary agencies begin to form ranks ready to march into the Balkans when liberation comes.

It seems to me that in deciding this question there are only three choices. The first might be called the "Columbus plan," because just after World War I it was practiced in Columbus, Ohio, and was rapidly copied by other cities until the hard times of 1921-23 caused its collapse in Columbus and brought it into disrepute. There is today a distinct trend away from this plan, although New York City still employs it in the distribution of many millions of dollars to sectarian child care institutions for children who are official wards of the city.

The theory of the Columbus plan is that voluntary agencies can distribute relief more skillfully and nonpolitically than can government, and therefore government should make an appropriation to the voluntary agencies and let the latter do the work. When I was Community Chest Secretary in Stamford, Connecticut, at the beginning of the depression, the Family Welfare Society's budget was exhausted, and there was no adequate Public Welfare Department to take over the case load. The city therefore subsidized the Family

Society, and it did the work. The trouble is that such an emergency plan tends to become permanent. I left Stamford soon after this arrangement was begun. I returned six years later to find the "emergency plan" still in operation. Obviously, it is a convenient device for quick action.

If UNRRA were to follow such a system in the Balkans, it would merely have to select an experienced voluntary agency, give it unlimited appropriations, and tell it to go ahead. Those who oppose such a plan point out that it weakens governmental operation. Indigenous governments in the Balkans should be built up to take over the permanent relief load officially. Subsidizing voluntary agencies to do it on an emergency basis may delay or prevent the establishment of sound, permanent, governmental operations.

The second choice might be called the "St. Paul plan," which was adopted in St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1933. The Community Chest was unable to raise its budget for the relief agencies; the Family Welfare Society had insufficient funds to meet its mounting case load; the City Welfare Department was inadequately staffed. The emergency plan which was adopted was the reverse of the Columbus plan. In a sense, the Family Welfare Society and the Community Chest "subsidized" the City Welfare Department. The Family Society loaned to the Public Welfare Department nearly all its own staff, and the City Welfare Department took over all the cases. Was the city subsidizing the Family Society and the Chest by relieving them of an unbearably heavy case load, or was the Family Society subsidizing the city department by loaning its workers and continuing to pay their salaries? St. Paul continued this method throughout the depth of the depression, and it seems to have been a good idea temporarily. Eventually, a realignment between public and private agencies was worked out, and many of the workers who had been on loan were taken over and paid by the public department. The Family Welfare Society then continued its operations on a smaller scale, "supplementing" the mass relief work of the City Welfare Department.

The voluntary agencies have accepted the St. Paul plan in their relations with UNRRA and the Balkan Mission. They are loaning their workers to UNRRA and continuing to pay their salaries so that UNRRA may be quickly staffed with experienced people who have professional skill. Liberation may come in the near future, and we cannot get these workers to Egypt too soon. Most of us do not accept this method as sound in principle; all of us accept it as necessary under the circumstances.

Before UNRRA was formed, its predecessor MERRA (the Middle East Relief and Refugee Administration) had negotiated a bargain with the British voluntary agencies. The Director General took over MERRA and "all its works," agreeing to assume whatever obligations it had incurred. He then called upon American voluntary agencies to loan 150 workers to match 150 workers who were to be loaned by the British agencies. No one would have had us do otherwise in the emergency. Where we differ is as to whether this policy should be continued after an initial period of about a year, and as to whether it should be copied if UNRRA should eventually establish a Polish Mission or a Mission to some other country where the MERRA agreement for the Balkans does not obtain.

Many of us would prefer a third choice. For lack of a better name we might call it the "New York plan," although New York does not follow it in the child welfare field. It is illustrated by the relation between the New York City Public Welfare Department and the Community Service Society and other family welfare agencies. The voluntary agencies do not seek to do the Public Welfare Department's work; neither the city nor the Welfare Department gives any money to the voluntary agencies. Instead, the voluntary agency seeks to "supplement" the mass relief program of the public agency at points where governmental rigidity, limitation of appropriation, or lack of legal authority result in gaps in service. Those human beings who would not be adequately served but for this supplementation are aided. Those of us who like this plan would have the voluntary agency ever on its toes to build up governmental operation to fill these gaps by modifications in laws or additional appropriations, in which case the voluntary agency should move on to new frontiers of service.

This is the dominant trend, I believe, in American public welfare administration as a result of hard economic experience during the depression. Many of us would like to see this plan adopted at the start if there is to be a Polish Mission under UNRRA.

The greatest flaw in our position is that this plan of supplementation by the voluntary forces takes more time to institute. How can the mass relief program of UNRRA in a foreign country be wisely supplemented by the skills and flexibility of a voluntary agency until the official mass relief program is in operation and the gaps, rigidities, and shortcomings which cannot be immediately met by governmental action become apparent? In general, however, the objective of supplementation is one to keep clearly in mind as we move into later operations, recognizing that in the early stages

hard-pressed administrators grappling with emergency situations should be free to adapt either the Columbus plan or the St. Paul plan to the temporary needs of the emergency, provided that they are clear as to the main danger that such temporary methods may become unwisely permanent and thus weaken the sound building of a permanent official governmental structure for the future.

POSTWAR INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

By PIERRE WAELBROECK

THERE ARE considerable differences of opinion concerning the possible extent of international migration movements in the postwar world. While some authorities have said that this continent should stand ready to receive more than twenty million European emigrants when hostilities cease, experts generally consider such a figure as fantastic, quite disproportionate with the present absorptive capacity of America. Moreover, they do not believe that there is the slightest probability that such a number of persons will want to leave Europe. They point out that the period between the two wars witnessed a considerable decrease in migration as compared with the period which preceded World War I, and they prophesy a continuance of this trend when World War II is over. Some of them go so far as to say that the era of migration is closed and that we should not, when planning for the postwar era, consider the resumption of international migration as a possibility. The truth may well be somewhere between those extreme views.

When discussing the probable need for a resumption of international migration, a distinction must be made between the immediate and the longer range aspects of the question. During the immediate postwar period, the need for resettling refugees will certainly overshadow all other elements of the situation; for the displacement of population set in motion by the present war has no precedent in history. It is probable that between thirty and forty million people on the Continent of Europe have been shifted or driven from their homes since the outbreak of the war. It is impossible to foresee how much further population displacement there will be in the coming months.

One should not make the mistake, however—a mistake which seems to be responsible for the exaggerated estimates—of considering all displaced persons in Europe as potential emigrants. For the vast majority, repatriation will be the obvious solution—and they will ask nothing better. Moreover, their help will be needed to rebuild their countries. Clearly, repatriation on so vast a scale will

meet with tremendous difficulties. Transport systems, already crippled by the war, may be completely disorganized during the retreat of the Axis armies. It may take many months, even a year or more, before the repatriation process, the first phase of postwar population resettlement in Europe, will reach an end. These people at least need not be taken into consideration in dealing with postwar international migration problems.

In addition to the persons who will be repatriated as soon as possible, a certain number who have been transferred to Axis-occupied countries may wish to stay where they are or to take up work in some European country other than their prewar home. Indeed, it can hardly be expected, despite all endeavors, that economic life will be resumed at the same pace in every country. Some countries will be unable to provide employment for all their inhabitants during the first years of reconstruction. Other countries will lack sufficient labor. Return to their own countries will not, therefore, be the only choice for some of those who have been removed from their homes. After World War I, France gave employment to a large number of foreign workers. After the present war, the countries which have taken in refugees on a temporary basis may need their services and offer them an opportunity of settlement. Other countries may be glad to use the services of workers awaiting repatriation in order to acquire additional labor for their reconstruction programs. In other words, labor requirements in postwar Europe will not necessarily correspond to the prewar distribution of the European population. The redistribution of labor may well be necessary if there is to be full employment.

The resettlement of individuals according to reconstruction needs will go a long way toward solving the problem of wartime dispersions of population; but it cannot wholly solve it. The problem is not merely Continental. Among the people who have been scattered over the Continent of Europe, it is true that many will seek emigration from Europe as a means of building a new life.

It may be hoped that after this war the problem of refugees as such will disappear. In the coming international order, there should be no place for the enforced migration, political and racial discrimination, expropriation, expulsion, and mass denationalization which have been among the most tragic features of the international anarchy caused by the racial and nationalistic theories of totalitarianism. Nevertheless, it would be utopian to hope that after the upheavals of war the whole of Europe can return to a peaceful way of life in a day and that obstacles to the repatriation of refugees will

disappear as though by magic. In most cases, it is true, the collapse of the totalitarian regimes will reopen to the refugees the frontiers of their former countries. They will therefore cease to be refugees in the proper sense of the term and will be able to regain their citizenship. Many who have been deported or obliged to flee from Germany or its satellites will not want to return to the countries where they endured so much suffering, even if the legal obstacles to their re-entry are removed. Only the resumption of intercontinental migration will enable most of these people to find permanent homes.

Refugees are the group most often mentioned in connection with the resumption of migration largely because humanitarian reasons give special urgency to their resettlement. But many other people who have been uprooted from their old homes will prefer to try their luck in an overseas country rather than face the difficulties of readjustment in their country of origin. After the vicissitudes of war and deportation, they will look upon emigration overseas as a means of embarking on a new life and protecting their children from the political and economic insecurity which they themselves have endured and which they still feel may return.

Moreover, while the effect of the war on population pressure in Europe cannot now be forecast, it is possible that in some regions, at least, the destruction of economic equipment and the means of production will have been so extensive that despite the probable shrinkage of the population, the need for emigration during the early postwar years may be even greater than it was before the war. The possible influence of political factors must also be taken into account—changes in systems of government for example, or the re-drawing of frontiers, which, even if no force is used, may lead to a movement of population.

The political, economic, and moral reconstruction of Europe depends partly on whether these centrifugal forces can find an outlet. The suspension of migration movements was a serious handicap to prewar Europe. Unless these movements are resumed in an ordered manner, it will not be possible to solve the problem of war and prewar refugees; and the situation may be further aggravated by a fresh wave of enforced migrations. The refugee problem is thus an integral part of the general problem of migration. In the last analysis, it can be solved only in this context. The migration problem will therefore have to be tackled as a whole after the war, with a view to re-establishing continuous and normal migration embracing all classes of migrants without distinction, whether their motives are economic, social, religious, or political.

This leads us to consider the wider and longer range aspects of the postwar migration problem. What are the prospects for a resumption of normal movements of population across the oceans, and more particularly from Europe to the various American countries? This question can only be answered by recalling the conditions which influenced the reduction of migratory movements before the war and by comparing them with probable postwar conditions.

After the economic crisis of 1929 and the depression years, the resumption of migratory movements, awaited impatiently by emigration countries of Europe, was delayed for a number of reasons despite the many favorable declarations of policy made in various immigration countries. Among these reasons was, first of all, the unprecedented severity and length of the world depression which left every country with a feeling of fear and insecurity. This desire for self-protection was translated into the maintenance of rigid barriers on immigration, even in countries where unemployment had returned to a more normal level.

Secondly, the improvement of economic activity in most countries in the years preceding the war was not accompanied by a parallel upswing in economic international relations. Migration, however, is only one of the constituent elements of the vast network of international exchange. Migration generally accompanies a more or less large-scale investment of national or foreign capital, necessary for the provision of the means of production for the industrial or agricultural activities in which the new settlers are to engage; moreover, immigration has no chance of success unless a market can be found for the products of the immigrants' work. A conference of experts called by the International Labor Office in 1938 stressed this essential aspect of the question. It emphasized particularly the fact that migratory movements could not be resumed on a large scale unless there were a resumption of international movements of capital; and that investment of capital not available in either the emigration or the immigration country was necessary to develop regions to be settled and to cover the expenses of transporting and settling immigrants. However, the subsequent efforts of the I.L.O. along these lines were still in their early stages when they were interrupted by the war.

In the intervening period, the political situation caused still further difficulties. Internal disturbances in a good many European countries, ideological conflicts, and repeated threats of war naturally had a direct effect on the attitude of non-European immigration countries and made them wary about accepting foreigners.

What influence will war and postwar conditions exert on the factors which had combined, before the war, to restrict intercontinental migration? It seems that, after the prolonged suspension of migration, opinion in support of a more active population policy is gradually developing. Sparsely populated countries, like Australia, which have been threatened with invasion are tending to consider population growth a guarantee of future security. It may also be expected that in a world freed from the menace of totalitarianism and the "fifth column," public anxiety regarding the admission of foreigners will tend to disappear. In the final analysis, however, the capacity of countries to absorb immigrants will depend on their economic development; and this development, as well as European reconstruction, will depend on the degree of international coöperation that can be achieved in economic and financial matters. International economic policy, including exchange stabilization, agreement on trade questions, and international investment of capital, would make it possible and even necessary to develop natural resources, to carry out development works, and to industrialize undeveloped regions. The countries concerned would doubtless wish to use the employment openings thus created to raise the standard of living and to widen vocational opportunities for their own nationals. Often, however, this policy cannot be pursued unless it is linked with the immigration of categories of workers who cannot be found in the countries in question. Moreover, in many cases the real justification for a program of economic expansion lies in the fact that it makes possible a gradual increase in the population whose needs it is designed to meet.

From this point of view, the resumption of migration can no longer be conceived as merely conditioned by an expansionist economic policy in the postwar world, but rather as an integral part of this policy. Movements of men, as well as movements of capital and movements of goods, are an essential feature of any dynamic economy—both nationally and internationally. Inside each country, changes in the location of industrial activity are necessarily accompanied by changes in the distribution of population. Clearly, internal migration is not good by itself. When a region is economically depressed and when there is no corresponding increase of activity in other regions, people tend to wander aimlessly and to disrupt the economic and social standards in the regions where they try to settle. To prevent such undesirable migration, there are only two remedies: either to give these people an incentive to stay

at home by developing new resources or industries in the areas where they live; or to develop other regions where resources can be more economically exploited, and to create in that way a center of attraction where they can find employment and better standards of living.

What is true of internal migration is equally true of international migration. In a contracting world economy the pressure of overpopulation in the emigration countries tends to create disorderly movements against which the other countries protect themselves by raising barriers against immigration—aggravating, thereby, the conditions in the overpopulated countries. In an expanding world economy, the industrial development of the emigration countries can relieve the pressure of overpopulation, or new regions of the world may be developed where natural resources are more abundant or where they can be more economically exploited, providing outlets to the surplus population of the less favored countries. If in the postwar world international action is undertaken in the spirit of the Atlantic Charter with a view to the wide expansion of economic prosperity through the exploitation of natural resources, the carrying out of development works, or the industrialization of undeveloped regions, the changing distribution of world economic activity will make a resumption of migration not only possible, but necessary.

However, whatever impetus these factors may give to postwar international migration, a return to the complete freedom of movement enjoyed in the nineteenth century is hardly to be expected. Reversion to these conditions would be in contradiction to the basic trend toward control of the last twenty years. Ever since World War I, emigration countries as well as immigration countries have shown a tendency to adopt a migration policy governed by a variety of considerations. In addition to the economic factors, there are demographic, racial, and political considerations to be borne in mind. Both emigration and immigration countries, before permitting the departure or arrival of migrants, reserve the right to consider the possible consequences of these movements on the composition of their population, the maintenance of their standard of civilization, the requirements of national defense, and other factors. These considerations have led several States to prohibit or hinder the departure of their nationals or to close their territory to all immigration, or to the immigration of certain types of persons.

Another guiding principle which has become more and more

noticeable in the migration policy is the social principle. Here, as in other fields, the State feels a certain duty of guardianship. Before allowing a migration current to develop, it considers that it is its duty to make certain that the movement is likely to have favorable results for the migrants themselves, since their success ultimately determines whether migration is to be advantageous, both for the immigrants and for the emigration country. This prewar tendency to control migration movements in accordance with national population, economic, and social policies will undoubtedly appear again after the war. It will be strengthened by the responsibility that governments are urged to assume for providing full employment for their national labor forces.

If, however, an international expansionist policy in conformity with the spirit of the Atlantic Charter is adopted, the character of the controls on migration would necessarily change. During prewar years, for reasons already noted, the regulation of immigration and emigration was almost wholly restrictive. After the war, the main problem will be to substitute for this negative regulation a positive organization of migration which, while checking undesirable movements, would encourage and facilitate those needed for world economic expansion.

Positive organization of migration cannot result from the uncoordinated and unilateral action of immigration and emigration countries. In a memorandum submitted to the Assembly of the League of Nations in 1937, the International Labor Office noted that "unilateral action was liable to have only negative, or at least limited, effects. In order to achieve the aim in view without putting an end to migration movements entirely (the memorandum added), the natural method was the joint organization of migration by agreement between the emigration and the immigration country." Since then, the work of the I.L.O. on migration questions (especially the discussions at the 1938 conference of experts) has placed particular emphasis on the financial problems involved in the development of large-scale migration and on the need for wider international coöperation than that between immigration and emigration countries alone, to bring in the participation of other countries which can help to supply the necessary capital.

In order to obtain a normal development of migration within the frame of postwar reconstruction generally, it would thus be necessary to establish a suitable international organization which, in coöperation with the other international organizations envisaged for giving effect to the economic program of the Atlantic Charter,

would assure that desirable population movements should take place along with the movement of capital and goods.

It is from this angle that the problem was approached by the I.L.O. Conference in Philadelphia. Postwar international migration was not dealt with as a separate problem, but as one of the multiple aspects of world reconstruction. The views of the Conference on this subject are included in a general resolution on economic policies for the attainment of full employment and raising standards of living. They are closely linked with its recommendations concerning international monetary, investment, and trade policies. After having dealt with these latter policies in a series of paragraphs, the resolution expresses in Paragraph 8 the belief of the Conference that "migratory movements may play an important part in the development of a dynamic economy." It recognizes, however, that "disorderly international migration may create economic and social dislocation in the countries concerned and involve serious hardship for the migrants themselves, while desirable migratory movements are often hampered by technical and financial difficulties which can be overcome only through international coöperation." The resolution, therefore, formally recommends that "the United Nations should encourage by appropriate measures, with adequate safeguards for all concerned, the orderly migration of labour and settlers in accordance with the economic needs and social conditions prevailing in various countries." As a first step in this direction, the resolution requests the governing body to bring before an early session of the International Labor Conference "a report of a representative Commission, with such technical assistance as it may require, on the means necessary to protect the interests of labour, on the one hand, against barriers which prevent migration from areas of limited resources, and, on the other hand, against the lowering of labour standards that might result from immigration at a rate exceeding the capacity of the receiving countries to absorb immigrants."

Just after the closing of the Conference, the governing body of the I.L.O. took steps to give effect to this resolution. It decided to convene a session of the International Migration Commission of the I.L.O. and to place on the agenda the study of possible forms of international coöperation which would be capable of facilitating an organized resumption of migration movements after the war. It may therefore be hoped that measures will be initiated in the near future to facilitate the orderly migration of labor and settlers in

the framework of a world expansionist policy pursued along the lines of the Atlantic Charter. Such measures would obviously go a long way toward solving the immediate problem of resettling uprooted people in the first postwar years.

THE UNITED NATIONS RELIEF AND REHABILITATION ADMINISTRATION'S TASK FOR DISPLACED PERSONS

By *MARY E. HURLBUTT*

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to predict what will be the final number of those who have been uprooted from their homes and countries by World War II, but it will be helpful briefly to characterize the varied types that will confront postwar administrators. In listing the following categories I have made use of Eugene M. Kulischer's report, "The Displacement of Populations in Europe," published in 1943 by the International Labor Office, with some modifications suggested by Patrick Malin, Associate Director of the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees:

1. War Fugitives. The large number of persons who left or will leave their homes voluntarily to escape military invasions, either fleeing to other parts of their own country or crossing adjacent borders
2. Evacuees. Those moved by government authority for military reasons
3. Civilian Internees. Aliens who have been confined in camps, of which the largest groups are probably in France
4. Laborers, Conscripted and Recruited. Including workers from the Baltic countries and from the Ukraine it was estimated that by September, 1942, approximately two million "Eastern workers" had been deported from Russia. In the spring of 1942 it was reported that Italy had supplied Germany with 300,000 workers. By the beginning of 1943, 1,356,000 Polish civilians and war prisoners were serving in Germany. France by June, 1943, had provided Germany with 1,950,000 laborers. In Kulischer's table twenty countries are listed, and the total foreign labor force removed to Germany by June, 1943, including civilian workers and war prisoners, is estimated at 6,500,000
5. Shifted Populations. Persons repatriated and colonized in accord with long-range population policies
6. Persons Expelled. People, according to Kulischer, who were "driven from their homes to make room for newcomers—concentrated at

given places or scattered far and wide, deprived of every possibility of carrying on their usual occupations and making a new home"

7. Refugees from the World War I. White Russians, Armenians, and Assyrians who have never attained civil status in any country
8. Potential Refugees. Those who are still to become refugees by reason of altered boundaries or changing political regimes

There are many groups which have voluntarily fled, or will flee, or which will be evacuated from one district to another within the borders of their own country for military reasons. Once their own neighborhoods are again safe for civilian residence it is to be assumed that they will stream back rapidly, as happened in northern France. Supplying the necessary temporary shelter, food, emergency services, and, subsequently, help in re-establishing for these people some semblance of family life, bears many similarities to disaster relief in this country and merge into local relief and reconstruction.

For the moment let us concentrate on those groups which have been displaced across political frontiers. How shall we envisage what the situation will be as Nazi authority breaks down in one area after another, as prison guards desert their posts and overseers of foreign forced labor flee from the war industries and agricultural projects, leaving their prisoners free to survive if they can?

It is necessary to face the degree to which conditioning factors are unknown and, indeed, unknowable. We cannot even say in respect to any given area which authorities will be in power: whether, for example, in Germany the Russian, the British, or the American forces are likely to be in control. There seems to be general agreement, however, that if civil disorder and disease are to be held in check, some United Nations military authority will have to control the loosened human floods. It has been suggested that shelters will have to be established all over Europe until plans can be worked out for the orderly disposition of displaced persons. One finds a great deal of difference of opinion as to how far it will be feasible, even under military control, to hold displaced people in mass shelters. Some experts believe that military authority will suffice to hold the masses immobilized for a time, thus lessening disorder and disease. Others point out that even the ruthless Nazi systems of control have not prevented constant underground movements across borders. When countries are liberated, the United Nations military authorities will find it difficult immediately to establish sufficiently extensive systems of authority with guards at

every border to turn back the streams of men and women who are determined somehow to reach their homes.

One recalls an instance of World War I when released Russian prisoners mobbed a Red Cross train as it was crossing Germany and successfully fought for the right to be carried eastward. Others remember the men, women, and children who plodded across the countryside or drove in every conceivable type of vehicle in the general direction of their native frontiers. Occasionally they were fed by villagers, or they pilfered to keep alive, or they lived on frozen potatoes that had been left in the fields. A former Red Cross worker recalls seeing an old woman clinging to the bumper of a moving train. Then there were the peasants who pushed their way back to devastated villages, establishing themselves in bombed-out cellars.

Military cordons and detention shelters for refugees will, without doubt, be established in many areas of Europe as they have already been established in Italy and North Africa, in Egypt, on the Red Sea, in India, in Southern Africa, and in Mexico. But what proportion of those who have no doubt of their right to be repatriated can be detained seems unpredictable at this point. It has been suggested that, if instead of resorting to military coercion, it were the policy to publicize through loudspeakers, by placards, and through every available channel where to find food, shelter, transportation, and information as to how to reach home with the greatest possible speed, the mobs might avail themselves of such aid and become relatively amenable. I have been told that this approach was used in Czechoslovakia when Sudeten refugees crowded into Prague; reasonable explanations, couched in friendly terms, were offered with good results.

Certainly each national government will have a major concern in sifting the displaced persons who seek to cross its frontiers and in aiding the earliest possible repatriation and re-establishment of its nationals. A system whereby the populations will be registered by the United Nations military authority in each liberated country is receiving consideration, and some such procedure is now under way in Italy. The registration is reported to be of the simplest form: name and nationality or citizenship. This should yield some indication of the size of the groups that are claiming repatriation. In the case of the groups which are clearly returnable to some country, provision will have to be made for identification, transportation, shelter, feeding, and sanitary controls. There will also be need to care for emergencies such as illness, childbirth, lost children, etc.

British social workers, on the basis of English war experiences, advocate that local communities everywhere should establish information centers. If such centers are coördinated with public authority and with welfare institutions through sponsoring committees, they may be manned by volunteers and would provide guidance and, where necessary, referral to local resources for relief and specialized services. Practical as this plan may seem, there are many problems to be solved if such information bureaus are not to turn into misinformation bureaus.

Governments-in-exile have been developing plans for repatriation of their people. The program of the Dutch government-in-exile includes the establishment of reception centers close to the borders where people may be temporarily sheltered, fed, and given medical attention, if necessary, and examined as to their civil status. The Dutch government is already working on plans for the collaboration of the Dutch Red Cross with other Dutch voluntary agencies which will assist repatriates.

In cases in which people have been removed to locations several days away from their homes, across disputed frontiers, an internationally coördinated program will obviously be required. For example, 35,000 Slovenians are reported to be in Germany. In normal times it takes about thirty-six hours by fast express to reach Belgrade from Germany, and the frontiers are crossed several times. At the end of hostilities, when railroad beds have been destroyed, when rolling stock has deteriorated, when priorities must go to the military and to food transportation, long-distance repatriation will become most difficult.

The Displaced Persons Section of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration will have responsibility for certain aspects of this problem, and Fred K. Hoehler, chief of this section, has negotiated with the Inter-Allied Repatriation Commission. Wherever UNRRA operates, the relief and shelter of persons who are without civil domicile will be important aspects of the total program. It is, however, not clear when and in what areas of Europe UNRRA will have an operating staff and how large this staff may be. In the first place, it has not yet been stated at what point the Army will permit UNRRA to operate. Secondly, the UNRRA Council laid down the principle that UNRRA would operate in any area only with the consent of the government concerned and in the degree that it decides.

The French Committee of Liberation has clearly stated its policy, to the effect that the French government will prefer to pay for

supplies and to undertake their distribution itself and that UNRRA need only be represented by someone who will transfer the supplies and render an accounting. How far this trend will spread to other liberated countries is not yet known. At present, the only countries to which there are plans to send operating staffs are Greece and Yugoslavia, and there is still uncertainty concerning the latter.

Another question still to be answered is whether UNRRA will operate in enemy countries or in neutral countries in which large numbers of displaced persons are stranded. The very nature of the problem of displaced persons requires an internationally coordinated program which extends into every region where displaced persons are to be found.

Let us now turn to those groups whose return to their countries of origin or former residence may not be welcomed, or who fear to return. These include the following, who are likely to constitute our postwar problem:

1. Persons who have remained without rights of permanent domicile since World War I
2. Persons who fled or were expelled by the Nazis or their satellites and who are either in internment camps or have been granted temporary refuge, but who will be reluctant to return to countries in which for over a decade anti-Semitism has been inculcated
3. Displaced enemy nationals who have been transplanted to conquered territories, as for example the Baltic families who were moved into Poland
4. The minor Quislings and collaborationists for whom life may become intolerable in liberated territories
5. The as-yet-unknown minorities which may be created by changes of boundaries or of political regime

As has been suggested by the Intergovernmental Committee, clarity of thought will be gained if the term "refugee" undergoes some modification in use. It should be reserved for those groups who will have no country and no government on whose protection they can count and for whom, therefore, international action will be needed. In this sense, the term is not appropriate for all those groups which are immediately returnable to their countries; nor should it any longer be applied to erstwhile refugees who have already acquired citizenship or who are in the process of acquiring citizenship in their countries of settlement. However, the distinction between repatriates and refugees will by no means always be easy to make. There will be, for instance, the former residents from areas whose boundaries await settlement in the peace treaty. This category

will probably include many Hungarians and Rumanians from regions abutting Yugoslavia and Russia and people from nations on the Austrian frontier. There will be those whose parents are of mixed origin. There will be persons who fled Nazi persecution a decade ago and, as Nazi conquests were extended, were forced to move from country to country, frequently changing their allegiance. And there will be families whose immediate membership will represent more than one country of present allegiance. In all these cases civil status will be hard to determine and difficult to fit into family plans.

Primary responsibility for the postwar refugee as thus defined will lie with the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees which was established as a result of the Conference of Governments at Evian in July, 1938, at the instigation of President Roosevelt when Nazi persecutions reached their first excesses. The Secretariat of the International Committee is in London, with Sir Herbert Emerson, High Commissioner for Refugees of the League of Nations, as Director and Patrick Malin, an American, as his associate. At present the Executive Committee represents five nations, and on the governmental body sit the ambassadors of thirty-seven nations resident in London.

The Intergovernmental Committee works through a staff whose members are sent to appraise situations where large numbers of refugees are massed and to carry on negotiations with governments so as to secure not only temporary care for the refugees, but the privileges of residence and of absorption into civil life where they are now located; of repatriation where proper safeguards seem assured; or of immigration to new countries of settlement.

Whatever may be the division of responsibility for relief and service between the Intergovernmental Committee and UNRRA, both seek the collaboration of the voluntary agencies. It seems obvious that the governments and private welfare organizations indigenous to the European countries will need all their energies and resources for rebuilding their own social life. Service to all categories of foreigners, therefore, seems to be a task appropriate to international bodies, intergovernmental and voluntary.

In almost all immigration countries the habitual defensive attitude rests on an entrenched popular psychology so little tolerant of international interference and so full of misconceptions that one questions whether an effective program of public re-education can get under way in time to afford a rapid solution of the problem. Is it not wiser to assume that a considerable part of the refugee

population will have to be cared for, possibly in collective shelters, for a long period of time? Many persons who have had experience in dealing with human beings held in collective confinement agree that if any other solution, such as temporary permits for community residence, can be worked out, it would be far more promising in terms of preserving the normal capacities of men and women. But if mass residences are to be the chief provision, it is important not to avoid sound planning on the mistaken assumption that only a brief period is involved.

It has sometimes been held that in handling displaced persons attention to psychological factors must be ruled out because of the size of the problem and its emergency character. However, experiences with interned people have stressed certain points. They have made amply clear the direct relation between efficiency in administration and the prevention of disorders, of illness, and of demoralization and the degree to which psychological and social factors should receive attention. Great tension between groups must be expected. Prejudices and political and religious differences heightened during the war may cause serious conflicts. These considerations should be kept in mind when groups are assigned to different sections of a shelter. F. Auerbach has put another point clearly: "Camp residence over long periods can completely change behavior patterns. Compliance may be a symptom of a general emotional letdown, immobilization and apathy. Protests and criticism may be a sign of still existing personal strengths which need to be understood and by appropriate handling directed into constructive activity."

Any initiative, leadership, and responsibility on the part of the shelter population needs to be fostered. The therapeutic value of work and play projects is important. Once survival and physical safety are provided for, every administrative measure should be planned to conserve whatever capacity for normal living and social relationships these savage years have not destroyed. We should remember, too, that children may have to live in these shelters—youngsters now six or seven years old who were born in camps and have known no other life.

If relatively few trained social workers are to be available, the most careful planning and the most economical use of personnel will be essential. It would seem likely that individualized service may be obtainable only to a very restricted degree, especially in the early period. However, it has been demonstrated that the right sort of social worker can be of great service as consultant for ad-

ministrative planning, and the experienced social worker can be used to find and direct volunteers. In internment camps use has been made of leaders who have been elected from the resident population. It will often be by channeling their understanding of what is needed through the multiple agencies necessary for dealing with mass problems, rather than in direct handling, that social workers must seek to make their services count.

Often stronger than the impulse for self-preservation is the need to know whether children—or husbands and wives, or brothers and sisters, or parents—are alive and to arrange for some sort of message and assistance to reach them. This tracing of the lost, the re-establishment of communication and the reknitting of family ties even when physical reunion is not possible is an area of service in which international private agencies are likely to play a large part. Obviously, this service must operate between countries, even between continents, calling far and wide on the services in local communities, and already steps have been taken in Geneva by the International Red Cross to establish an international family index system. It will operate through the simple device of postcards which, it is planned, will be distributed as widely as possible among displaced persons in every country. Whenever the address of a member of his family is unknown, an individual may fill out a postcard giving his own name and address and the name and address of the relative he is seeking. He will then mail this card to the Geneva address of the International Committee of the Red Cross. As these communications pour into the central office a findex system will be utilized in which names of inquirers seeking each other can be brought together and each be apprised of the other's whereabouts.

A plan for a more individualized effort to trace lost relatives and secure information concerning them is being developed in the United States by a group of agencies which operate internationally. Preliminary forms and clearing procedures will be established in New York City.

In many cases where a man was deported for forced labor his wife may have been taken to another concentration camp and the children dispersed in several different countries. Some women will have remarried or formed other ties. The legal position of women whose status as wife or widow is not clear will complicate personal plans, especially in those European countries where a married woman's rights are strictly limited as regards property, decisions for her children, and even freedom of movement.

There will be large numbers of illiterate peasants, and children

who are unable to give any precise facts as to where they belong. One Greek refugee child, for instance, did not know the name of her village, but she could recall the name of her village priest. Through this one clew it was finally possible for a social agency to trace the child's home and family.

We should set the goal firmly that at no time shall people be lost sight of as human beings. Their feelings, their family attachments, their capacities and plans—these are the sources of recovery. This goal appears less illusionary as we realize that the help that refugees need from people of good will is not limited to what can be done by those who are sent overseas. The work must be done throughout the civilized world, wherever good will and understanding can be fostered, in every community to which refugees will go, or where their relatives may be found. Social work, like government and science and industry, has been learning the interlinkage of services needed in a world community. Just as a global network of energies and plans created the engines of war so we can each participate in building the network required to heal and restore human society.

DEMOCRACY AND RACE RELATIONS

By *EDWIN R. EMBREE*

DEMOCRACY in human relations is so simple and natural that it is amazing that we do not practice it. It is as inefficient as it is absurd to hamper our social intercourse and our business dealings by artificial rules of caste: to say that we will eat only with people who have big ears or pale skins; to say that all people with blue eyes must live in one part of town and all people with brown eyes or brown skins must live elsewhere; to say that people with straight hair shall have the top jobs and people with curly hair must take lower positions, the degree of lowliness being dependent on the tightness of the curl; to say that in this land of religious freedom members of one set of churches shall be the elite and members of other religions shall be second- or third-class Americans.

If we tried to explain our racial and religious discriminations to a man from Mars, he would regard us as hopelessly mad. He would be baffled by the conflict between our principles of freedom and equality and our practice of restriction and caste, between our Sunday professions of brotherhood and our everyday habits of prejudice. But he would be much more shocked that a people as devoted to efficiency as we are should cripple our business and inconvenience our social life by a phantasmagoria of elaborate restrictions, conglutinated about moot questions of race, creed, and color.

A man from Mars might simply be amused or amazed at our queer behavior in normal times; he would be appalled to see us carry the inefficiencies of caste into a life-and-death struggle, to see us carry antidemocratic practices into a war which we are waging to save democracy. And we too should be appalled.

When we were suddenly confronted by a global war that threatened our very existence as a free people, one would suppose that the world's most efficient nation would throw itself and its vast productive power totally and wholeheartedly into defense and war. That was just what we did do—up to the point where we ran afoul

of our weird codes of discrimination. We drafted every able-bodied young man in the nation into our Army and Navy—but one tenth of all this manpower we segregated into quasi-service units. We set up an elaborate mechanism in every state and city of the nation, not to mobilize for war, but to manipulate caste. Of all the men drafted into the Army, whether from Alabama or from Ohio, we separated out ten in every hundred to put into special training courses, to organize into separate regiments, to treat as second-class forces. In the Navy the deferment to caste was even worse. Many officers still regard the United States Navy as an exclusive gentlemen's club. Jews and, in some cases, Catholics are only grudgingly admitted to command; Negroes, with a few token exceptions, are accepted only as common seamen, and usually as mess hands and drudges.

I need not point out the enormous loss that all this means to effective prosecution of the war: wasted time and divided attention of officers, egregious inefficiencies in dual services, destruction of morale. And the irony is that this failure fully to use Negroes in combat means the death and disablement of thousands—tens of thousands—more white boys than would otherwise fall. Our visitor from Mars would have to conclude that these strange Americans would sooner sacrifice their sons and brothers and husbands than sacrifice their prejudices.

In the production of the mechanics of war, although we started out just as strangely, common sense and efficiency happily won a partial victory in factories that is not yet won in the armed services. When we mobilized for war production, we began in our ancient pattern to use only nine tenths of our manpower. It took a Presidential order and constant hammering by the War Manpower Commission to get war plants to use brown workmen, although it was tragically clear that the labor of every able-bodied man and woman was needed for victorious survival. Even today, Negroes are not employed at their full skills, and in many plants production was stopped or slowed down until a bizarre array of duplicate facilities was set up for the working or housing of the various shades of laborers.

And here is an item that our innocent friend from Mars would simply not believe: When blood was needed for the saving of sick and wounded fighters, we were so much more interested in preserving segregation than we were in preserving life that we wasted time and energy and morale in setting up an elaborate system of separated blood collection. In spite of scientific evidence that the

chemistry of human blood has no relation to skin color or to any other superficial trait, we still insisted on the rigmarole of collecting separate tubs of blood: one from pale faces; one from people who were tan or yellow or brown. It is an open secret that it has proved too cumbersome to keep these blood banks separate in shipping them overseas. Yet in spite of the ultimate pool, we still, in every city in America, ceremoniously set out to collect white blood and black blood—seeming to forget that all blood is red.

Our prejudices, absurd as they are in democratic America today, have grown from historic roots. The hatred of the Irish for the English may have made sense in the British Isles years ago. Religious wars tore Europe for so many centuries that it is hard even today for Protestants in the old countries to get along with Catholics, or for either of them to outgrow their medieval superstitions about Jews. But none of these hates and schisms have any place in the New World. Years ago this new America declared its independence of the Old World—independence, not only of political control, but of social restrictions. And, for the most part, immigrants coming into this new nation left their old quarrels behind and started a new life of freedom in America: freedom of opportunity, freedom from hate.

Yet we have never fully realized the promises of this New World. Old hates have in part persisted, and new inequalities have grown up. Our task in human relations is to wipe out discriminations wherever they occur, against whatever race or religion or class. Our major task is to correct the abuses that have grown right here on our own soil against one of our own racial groups: the brown Americans.

Negroes are the largest of our disadvantaged minorities—one tenth of the entire nation. They have suffered the cruelest hurts throughout our history and even today they suffer peculiar discriminations. Our treatment of Negroes is the most glaring discrepancy between American practice and the American creed. Unless we can bolster democracy at this point, the whole structure will crumble.

Let us be perfectly clear about our motives. We are interested in good human relations, not out of charity for some lowly brethren, but out of a common concern. Every American has an equal stake in this battle. There may be a difference among us in the timing of the penalties. Negroes today are the chief victims of discrimination, along with Mexicans and Orientals. Jews are already singled out for persecution, if and when the more vulnerable colored

groups are attended to. Catholics are not very far behind. And against labor, huge forces are eager to go into battle—a battle that will be easier if the labor front can be kept broken by racial and religious schisms. Whether we recognize ourselves as members of any special minority or not, we will all go down if the democratic way of life is scuttled. To paraphrase the classic lines of John Donne: No man—and no race—is an island entire of itself. Every man is a piece of a continent, a part of the main. If the bell tolls the knell of the rights of any man or any group, “never send to know for whom the bell tolls. It tolls for thee.”

In planning the crusade for decent democratic relations between Negro and white Americans two recent developments are significant:

First, Negroes are no longer concentrated in any single section of the country. They are no longer wholly or chiefly in the rural South. More than one half of the total Negro population now live in towns and cities. Today over four million Negroes live in the North and West—one third of the whole group of slightly less than thirteen million. New York State, in the 1940 census, ranked ninth among the states in Negro population, standing just below Virginia and well above Tennessee and Florida and Arkansas. Chicago today has 335,000 Negroes, twice the number in any Southern city and more than the total number in several Southern states. Negroes make up fully one tenth of such industrial cities as Philadelphia, Detroit, Pittsburgh, and Cleveland. Even Los Angeles reported 64,000 Negroes in the 1940 census, and is estimated to have over 100,000 today. The problem of race relations is no longer sectional; it is a national interest.

Secondly, Negroes have made such striking progress in every phase of modern civilization that their participation is now an asset to every phase of American life. The growth of the brown Americans is one of the bright episodes in the history of mankind. In three brief generations, they have climbed from the utter dependence of slavery to a high degree of competence and self-reliance. And they are now building swiftly on the slowly laid foundations of the earlier decades of freedom.

The literacy of the whole race of American Negroes has jumped from the 5 percent of emancipation time to over 90 percent—well above the literacy of the whole populations of any but a very few favored nations. And education has gone far beyond the rudiments and is mounting swiftly. Fifty thousand Negroes are in colleges and universities today—three times as many as there were even fifteen years ago. During the past six years, 24,000 Negroes

have been graduated from college—more than had been graduated during all the previous centuries of the life of this new race in the New World.

The Negro death rate, while still higher than it need be with modern medicine and sanitation, has been cut in half during the past fifty years and compares favorably with the rates in Italy and France.

Negroes have become a solid part of the labor movement. While still discriminated against in many types of employment and while likely to suffer most in any postwar recession, Negroes are today a solid part of industry and of organized labor—and they are there to stay.

Negroes have the vote—fully in the North and West, and increasingly even in the South. As they learn to use their political power they will demand—and get—their rights in every phase of public life. Already they begin to appear as judges, executive officers, and national emissaries. They sit in the legislatures of twelve states, and on the boards of aldermen of many cities. One seat in the United States Congress has been held by the Negro group since 1929. Their opinions and demands are strongly voiced in national associations and in more than two hundred of their own newspapers.

Their contributions to the arts, literature, music, drama, and the dance are a matter of pride to all Americans. Individuals have become figures of national and international fame. The general leadership of the group is intelligent and strong.

Fifty years ago this was a lowly group scarcely able to take its place as full partners in American life. That is no longer true. Restrictions and discriminations today are a cultural lag—a failure of our thinking and our actions to keep up with the changed conditions. The challenge to America is to correct this cultural lag, to fit our practices to the capacities of this darker tenth of our people, to heal this tragic breach in our democracy.

The rise of the brown Americans is a part of the general upsurge of colored peoples the world over. For 300 years the white men of western Europe and North America ruled the earth. Our development of science and technology—including the techniques of war—gave us a power that enabled us to conquer and rule all other peoples, most of whom happened to have pigment in their skins: the hundreds of millions of yellow people of Asia, black people of Africa, red Indians of the Americas, brown peoples of the Pacific. Having material power, it was natural for us to suppose we were superior to all people in every way. So we built up the pleasant

illusion that white men were the natural rulers of civilization and that all colored peoples were by nature subordinates.

The balance has radically shifted during the periods of World War I and World War II. Vast numbers of people all over the earth—especially in Asia—have been taking over our technology. Japan has proved that even in war her relatively few millions can hold at bay the former white masters of America and Europe. China and India and Java, while not yet fully prepared, are moving fast in industry and power. Meanwhile, the Western nations have weakened themselves almost to the point of suicide by two destroying wars in a single generation. We do not yet see the shift that is taking place. Again there is a cultural lag, a delay between changes and our adaptation to them. That lag is conspicuous—and may become tragic—in the attitudes that the white nations still hold toward the colored peoples.

The United Nations that will win this war and control the new world include about two hundred and fifty million Western white men of the United States and the British Commonwealth. They include also 450,000,000 yellow Chinese; 350,000,000 brown people of India; 150,000,000 dark peoples of South Asia, the East Indies, and the other Pacific islands; 120,000,000 Latin Americans, many of whom are proud of their African and Indian ancestry as well as of their European blood; such millions from the Near East and Africa as can free themselves for the struggle; and 190,000,000 of Soviet Russia who are passionately committed, not only to economic equality, but to equality of all racial and cultural groups.

The white man of the Western world is offered his last chance for equal status in world society. If he accepts equality, he can hold a self-respecting place—maybe a leading place—in the new order. And he may continue to contribute much in science, in industry, and in political maturity. But if the Western white man persists in trying to run the show, in exploiting the whole earth, in treating hundreds of millions of his neighbors as inferiors, then the fresh might of the billion and a half nonwhite, non-Western people may in a surging rebellion smash him into a nonentity.

Negroes are loyal American citizens. But it is natural for them to identify themselves with the darker people all around the globe. And colored nations have been quick to see in our treatment of Negroes the attitudes that they fear we will try to keep up in world relations. We are learning that even prejudices can no longer be kept in isolation. To fit ourselves for the New World we must practice the principles we have long professed—the Christian prin-

ciple of universal brotherhood and the democratic principle of freedom and equality for all.

What can social work do to help redeem the promises that are America?

Everything!

Social workers, viewed broadly to include health, education, recreation, welfare, and service groups, mold the social life of the nation. You have won America's brilliant battles of public health, of slum clearance and public housing, of parks and playgrounds, of education, of child care, of social progress. Some people still think of social workers as fuddy-duddies, diddling over the poor sick and the sick poor. You do give care to the ailing and dependent. But you have pushed your work far beyond that—into positive, constructive developments. If you have the will, you can transform our patterns of race relations in a single decade.

You have won battles for health and well-being, not by your own efforts alone, but by learning to use the newspapers, the courage and the will to decency of the American people, the powerful public agencies of nation, state, and city. You have even taken the lead in creating new and stronger public agencies as fresh needs appear. So in the war against discrimination you will not fight alone. You will find strong interracial organizations already in the field. You will find laws for the protection of civil rights already on the statute books of all the states, except the dwindling group in the Old South. You will find the far-flung bureaus of the Federal Government almost universally ready and eager to press the battle for equal opportunity and fair play. You will find official, or quasi-official, committees newly appointed in more than one hundred American cities. And where these committees are not operating, one of your first tasks will be to get them appointed. And one of your second tasks will be to prod and help those public agencies to full, effective functioning.

You will find, just as you have found in all your battles, that the churches are great potential allies. But you will find, as you always have, that the churches need stern prodding before they wake up to an active interest in the practice of their high principles. You will find one great new ally—the labor movement. It is true that some of the older unions have been slow to realize the necessity of a united front, regardless of race, creed, or color. But the newer forces of labor are courageous and realistic. The greatest force for decent race relations that has come into being in my lifetime is the Congress of Industrial Organizations—6,000,000 strong, militant and united

for the rights and opportunities of the common man and for the full functioning of democracy.

It is, of course, not enough simply to try to avoid race riots. These, when they occur, are symptoms of deep-seated pathology in the body politic. In correcting evils and in planning progress, attention needs to be given to the following areas:

1. *Employment*.—If any people have economic security, they have the basis of a good life. During this emergency period, there is almost full employment of Negroes—as of all other workers. The whole picture, however, is not so sound, especially in upgrading and in the effective use of colored women. Many Negroes, even today, are kept from skilled jobs and foremanships, not for lack of ability, but for lack of “whiteness.” And the big question is what will happen after the present emergency is over. Negroes must hold in industry and organized labor a fair part of the gains of the past four years if they are to continue as full citizens in the American economy.

2. *Housing*.—No people can live decently unless they live freely. The ghetto is a feature of medieval Europe that has no place in America. At present, in practically every American city, Negroes are confined to restricted areas, with bad houses and exorbitant rents. They are confined to these districts by an atmosphere of prejudice and, specifically, by conspiracies known as restrictive covenants. No city can claim to be a true democracy while it permits arbitrary restrictions on the living space of any group.

3. *Schools*.—The problem is not only to make sure that equal facilities are provided for all the people, but to provide school texts and daily procedures so that democracy is taught and practiced.

4. *Other public services*.—Constant attention must be given to all the city departments. It is too easy in such matters as health, welfare, recreation, and even in such homely tasks as building inspection and garbage disposal, to slight just those sections that need the services most.

In health especially, Negroes are still inadequately served. Their mortality from tuberculosis is three times that for whites; from syphilis, six times as great. The average life span of brown Americans is but fifty-three years, compared to sixty-five years for white Americans. Yet experience shows that death and disease among all groups respond directly to medical care and sanitation. Recent crusades in Chicago brought infant death rates among Negroes from eighty-six in 1931 to thirty-nine in 1940.

5. *Law and order, and the police*.—Just as every other wave of

"immigrants," Negroes from the rural South have found that it takes time to adjust themselves to the complexities and regimentation of industrial city life. Lack of urban habits of sanitation and discipline still mark the newer arrivals from the South. Slum congestion still makes for high rates of crime and juvenile delinquency. These ills are not so marked among Negroes as they were in comparable eras among other slum-dwelling immigrants, but they are evident enough to be disturbing.

In many cities, the police, far from protecting Negroes, have been in themselves forces of repression and disturbance. The police have most immediate contact with the people. Wise city planning calls for specific orders for equal protection—to Negroes and whites alike—of life, liberty, and property, and for detailed education of the police personnel in ways of insuring fair play, yet maintaining that promptness and firmness in dealing with disturbance that is the best guarantee of peace.

Whatever the success on given fronts, full victory will come only as we—Americans all—determine that we are going to put aside our petty prejudices, and that regardless of race, creed, or color we are going to treat all people on the democratic basis of their individual merits. We have it in our power to build—and at once—an America with adequate public services, even-handed justice, and equal opportunities for all the people.

ORGANIZING THE COMMUNITY FOR INTER-RACIAL COOPERATION

By *HAROLD A. LETT*

THE FACT THAT the need for interracial coöperation is widely recognized today is, of course, an admission that such coöperation seldom occurs in a natural or spontaneous fashion. The passivity of public opinion discourages breaking the taboo. This passivity, in turn, has created the illusion that a majority of whites are not receptive to the idea of interracial association. I say that it is an illusion because I am convinced that the majority of American citizens want to live up to their reputation of being democratic, freedom-loving people. There is too much spontaneity, charity, and neighborliness in the average American for meanness and smallness to find lodging there, too. But we must admit that he is fearful of breaking a taboo, of losing face, of attracting criticism and ridicule. The prevailing pattern of biracialism in our country, created and perpetuated by the active, articulate, and well-intrenched exploiters of the Negroes, is holding the average citizen enthralled until such time as widespread interracial activity will give him freedom to follow his inner promptings. The number and the quality of leaders are the important determinants to the cultural growth of the nation in this respect, as in every other.

Thus, in every attempt to achieve interracial coöperation, we see persons who are hesitant, even though their sympathies are with the effort. The fear of ridicule and social reprisals are the most important deterrants. Then there are those whose sympathies are great, but whose knowledge of the problem and of the task to be undertaken is little. Their misapprehensions reduce them to a state of impotency in which they are overwhelmed by the imaginary immensity and insolubility of the problem. The caliber of leadership which social work possesses can provide assurance to these fearful people that their prestige need not suffer. This same leadership is in a position to marshal sufficient scientific and historical data that will present the problem in its true light to the misinformed of open mind and ready sympathy.

Perhaps the oldest and most effective technique employed by those who oppose interracial action is the plea to postpone organizing effort "until a more representative group can be assembled." Such delays are urged usually for the purpose of mobilizing a stronger opposition, and to provide a "cooling-off" period during which fears can be multiplied and intensified. Then too the suggestion frequently is proposed with the thought of securing the assistance of so-called "respectable" or influential people in the community, to give prestige to the effort. This move carries with it the implication that persons who would initiate a project of this nature are inclined toward radicalism and therefore are not completely "respectable." Fortunately, such ideas are entertained by a relatively small minority of the public, and ample refutation of the notion may be found in the experiences of labor unions, which by closeknit, organizational strategy are demonstrating that influence and respectability are not monopolies held by any particular class.

The job of achieving interracial cooperation contains no great mysteries; it is merely the old problem of attaining good human relationships. The basic principles guiding the formation of community organization and group work activities apply in every respect to this area of operation; that is, if they are permitted to apply. The conscious or unconscious urge to surround the task with a cloak of mystery has caused many failures. The average child is a natural human being. He has few fears, no superstitions or prejudices—until he has been tampered with by older and "wiser" persons. Naturalness in attempting interracial work too frequently is tampered with by those wiser persons who presume to know all about the race problem; who create new rules with which to cope with their particular concept of this phenomenon; and who prevent the operation of techniques which group work experience has proved to be effective.

Certain fundamental principles apply to interracial action with even greater emphasis than is true in community organization generally:

1. We must be purposeful. More harm than good was done by the traditional "interracial committee" which characterized our society a decade or more ago, when writers first discovered Harlem. Hundreds of dilettanti, intellectuals, and a few earnest people assembled periodically to recite Dunbar and Cullen poetry, sing spirituals, and drink tea. Subjects of social or economic significance were taboo; they were too controversial. There was neither purpose nor goal, and it was impossible for anyone to penetrate the veneer of frigid

formality and aloofness which inhibited most members of the group. People do not become acquainted in such an atmosphere; rather, they become further confused by the strangeness which artificiality has imposed upon them. Purposefulness presents an objective. Interest in the objective induces people to lose themselves and their self-consciousness in the common task.

2. We must be sincere. An organizer who is not possessed by a conviction will not be able effectively to overcome the acquired suspicions evident in current racial attitudes. Conviction, of necessity, requires an unassailable knowledge of the facts in the situation.

3. We must be practical. There will be the advocates of an all-out crusade and there will be those whose fears will cause them to shrink from any direct action. Calm judgment is required to maintain an even balance and to steer a practical course between these conflicting emotional urges.

4. We must be scientific. We must adhere to basic principles of community organization, with application of the wealth of knowledge amassed by social scientists in the realm of human behavior. We must be ever conscious that we are dealing with human beings and human superstitions. Beware of him who would forsake science for rule-of-thumb methods.

In considering organizational procedure, I am inclined to favor the selection of a general objective as the first step, with the mobilization of personnel as the second step. Since emotional elements are more compelling in the interracial area than in other organizational ventures, it would appear that the hazards are minimized when prospective recruits are made aware of the services which will be exacted of them. Obviously, the efficacy of the attraction will depend upon the nature of the objective. Is there purposefulness? Will the program assume the formlessness of the old "cultural appreciation" effort? Will it propose to attack the entire area of racial restriction, exclusion, and conflict? Will it be a temporary gesture for expediency's sake, which will employ words only as tools to achieve good will and to avert open conflict in the community? Or, will it become a consistent and clearly defined approach to community discipline, through utilization of the constructive forces whose aid will be required to remove or minimize the causes of tension? Here again the clear-cut definition of a program directed toward a specific goal will eliminate much doubt, hesitation, and confusion in attracting recruits.

What shall be the committee's function? In other words, how specific may the organizers be in predetermining the committee's

scope? The answer will be found in the programs which are operating in our communities at the moment, even though they may not be interracial in character. For example, we see that a citizen's group should give its attention to a particular, local situation. It may be some defect in the public school system, or it may be a weakness in local political administration. We organize a committee, and attract to that committee the individuals who have an interest in the problem. The challenge is there, and the committee is mobilized around the job to be done. It is not likely, however, that we will attempt to employ the organization to remedy *all* the evils existing in our community, because we realize that the wider the scope of responsibility we dare assume, the fewer will be the people who will see eye to eye with us on the several issues involved, and the weaker our organization is likely to be. In race relations, as in other problem areas, the omnibus type of organization has little chance to achieve real success.

There has been a tendency to employ an interracial committee as a cure-all for the many ills affecting racial relations. Mr. Brown, being a Negro, is sensitive to all the points of friction and would like to see all of them removed. Mr. White, however, is tremendously interested in improving the conditions of Negro employment and housing and will work hard to achieve these ends; he will not identify himself with a crusade for the admission of Negroes to restaurants and theaters. Brown and White can be welded into a hard-hitting combination if their efforts are directed specifically to the problems of employment and housing; but they will outdo the Kilkenny cats if they are called upon to function in the areas where their interests are at such variance. Is it good sense to exclude White because of his limited area of interest? Is it expedient to exclude Brown because his interests are too broad and too deep, when his energies could be effectively harnessed in a specific sector of those interests? To exclude either would mean the loss of his contribution to social progress in the community; to crowd either beyond the range of his social stature would invite conflict, and forever prevent the personal association from which each could have achieved greater breadth and growth.

The "all-or-nothing" advocates, however, object to this proposal by saying that discrimination in the use of public facilities is a symbol of the whole problem, and that exclusion of these areas would constitute a retreat before the forces of reaction. Not at all! There is nothing to prevent the formation of a second group whose avowed function would be to remove these restrictive barriers. To

such a group, obviously, would be attracted individuals whose interests lie in that direction, and presumably they could function with a minimum of friction and a maximum of effectiveness. It is entirely conceivable that a given community might well support several interracial committees, each functioning in a specific field of interest, each attracting to its membership individuals who find in the committee objectives outlets for their primary interests. The important consideration is that there should be close coördination of the work of the several committees. After all, is not this the philosophy of organization in the professions of social work, of medicine, and of education? Have we not seen the need for specialization in every service intended to meet the needs of human beings?

In Newark, New Jersey, such a program of specialization is functioning to excellent advantage in the well-coördinated activities of three citizens' groups whose programs supplement the work of the Urban League, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Conference of Christians and Jews, and two politically created bodies—the New Jersey Welfare Commission and the New Jersey Goodwill Commission.

The oldest of these three groups is the Newark Interracial Council, which, after several years of operation as an omnibus type of organization, decided to concentrate upon securing hospital facilities for Negro professionals. During those early years it had swayed from project to project, experiencing high membership turnover in the process, and losing prestige in the larger community. For the past six years it has devoted itself almost exclusively to this specific task, attracting to its membership white and colored citizens who felt that the exclusion of Negro doctors, nurses, and trainees from local hospitals was affecting the future of the entire community. The Council has now won an enviable reputation for courage and consistency. Only recently it won its first victories, with the admission of Negro staff physicians to one hospital, a nurse-trainee to another, and staff nurses to three institutions. Meantime, a spirit of kinship among its members has been forged, and racial identities have been forgotten.

The second group, the Intercultural Education Council, was organized about three years ago. Educators and citizens interested in education were invited to participate, and a membership of eighty-five persons resulted. After months of study and careful planning, the group presented eight proposals to the Newark Board of Education, ranging from a review of curricula to the inclusion of aptitude tests in student teachers' examinations. Today, radical changes are being

effected in the elementary and secondary school curricula; a review of literature in school libraries is being considered; three teachers' institutes have been held, exposing every teacher in the Newark system to all-day discussions of interracial and intercultural relationships; courses in intercultural education have been included in the curriculum of Teachers' College; and there has been a decided increase in the number of Negro teachers.

Growing racial tensions in Newark culminated in an isolated and quickly controlled clash between teen-age Italian and Negro youth. As a result of this outbreak, the Citizens' Committee on Interracial Unity was formed when a 90 percent response was given to invitations appealing for the community's immediate resistance to the anti-Negro sentiment that was everywhere expressed. A complete plan of action was presented to the group by the two social workers who had issued the call. The program was accepted by all but two persons, one of whom requested a future meeting with, as he put it, "more influential community leaders." At the organization meeting, subcommittees on press and public relations, city administration, youth, labor and management, and the Church were assigned to their duties. The two dissenters quietly eliminated themselves when their delaying tactics were repudiated. Through the work of this group, the resources of the whole community have been utilized in such a manner that magnificent educational results have been accomplished, while at the same time many irritants which had caused racial tension have been removed.

In this local experiment it is important that approximately 250 people are involved in the work of the three organizations. Very few of them would have had, in all probability, any deep concern with an interracial movement *per se*. Many of the members were attracted through a personal sense of basic decency and the awareness of an opportunity through which they could give voice to this sense in a field of community activity which would give expression to their primary interests. Another interesting observation is that at the outset, not more than a dozen individuals joined more than one group. As the work progressed, however, the perspectives of many broadened beyond their primary interest, and bit by bit, more individuals are joining a second, and even a third group. Thus the further the work of the three organizations advances, the greater coördination is achieved through interlocking membership.

The first consideration in determining an objective is to start from the firm foundation upon which is based all deeper, human understanding. To achieve any degree of mutual regard, people

must share experiences which permit the interplay of character and personality. They must share a common objective; work together toward its achievement; experience the chagrin of frustration and the thrill of accomplishment—together. Football teams, business firms, and armies are built upon this principle. One teammate, partner, or comrade-in-arms may seem to have little in common with the other, but sharing the objective, the gains, and the reverses of the game, the deal, or the fight will cement them into an effective organization. The task, therefore, must be meaningful; and in being meaningful, it sets out to accomplish three ultimate aims: (1) exposure to each other of people of both groups, as a means to mutual understanding and respect; (2) initiation of joint and considered effort toward remedying local conditions which are the source of suspicion, resentment, and conflict; and (3) provision of a medium for shaping a positive public opinion to replace the fallacies and misconceptions now prevailing.

Racial tensions are the surface symptoms of underlying social and economic dislocations. The treatment indicated by present symptoms must be more than the counterirritant of lecture or reprimand; more than the sedative of editorial sentimentality. This social illness, which has almost reached a chronic stage, needs drastic and consistent medication. A meaningful program must recognize one of more of the obvious causes for dissatisfaction in the Negro community, as well as those that are responsible for much of the feeling of guilt which exists in the white community—the two representing the powder and the spark!

Employment discrimination is the greatest single challenge; followed closely by poor housing. Any clear-sighted, fair-minded citizen could enlist in either cause without losing face or being charged with "advocating social equality." Increased health and recreational facilities and revised and adjusted systems of public school education are restoring confidence and self-esteem to the white and colored citizens of many progressive American cities. There is serious need, however, for the application of corrective measures in many more cities. Protests directed to newspaper editors on the biased slanting of racial news, and to police officials on the almost universal prevalence of police brutality in minority group areas, can remove many of the most potent irritants in the average community. These are some of the basic issues, and the group's stature will be measured by the intelligence, the consistency, the diligence, and the dignity with which it tackles any one or any combination of these tension-producing factors.

It will require realistic leadership to bring order out of our most confusing and contradictory domestic problem. We have been aware of the scientific fact that racism is a superstition which has been permitted to weaken our democratic structure. As realists, we must marshal scientific facts to our aid, in order that we may fulfill our obligation to society. As realists, we know that sentimentality is a poor substitute for progressive action; that sympathy alone cannot serve in the stead of understanding aid; and that paternalism can never supply man's constant demand for justice and fair dealing. Let us not permit emotionalism to blind us to our professional responsibility; tradition to distort our perspective of the basic issues involved; nor superstition to impede us in the pursuit of our task.

NEXT STEPS IN INTERRACIAL RELATIONS

By LESTER B. GRANGER

WHEN DISCUSSING the problem of race relations during these critical and disturbing days, there is a natural temptation to lament the social errors and excesses of racial hatred that have marked recent months. The temptation can be resisted successfully only by realizing that the most important phase of race relations in America lies not behind us, but ahead—during the war and in the postwar period as well. Social historians will look back upon this period and observe that during World War II American public opinion finally made a decision as to our racial future and either swung into the road that leads to social democracy, or turned its face from America's traditional ideas and chose the highway leading toward social disaster.

The dreadful pattern of race riots of 1943 has not thus far in 1944 been repeated. It may be that we can escape their recurrence for the remainder of the war, though disturbing reports from certain industrial centers and the unceasing inflammatory efforts of race-baiting demagogues make us realize that there is nothing in the present situation to encourage complacency.

Every American who is worthy of the title "citizen" has carried a deep sense of shame and a feeling of almost personal responsibility for what happened in 1943 in New York City, Los Angeles, Beaumont, Mobile, and Detroit. Those bloody and costly riots were warnings of how far this nation still has to go in order to develop the single-minded purpose and the well-disciplined unity that are needed to win this war. It is possible mathematically to calculate the loss of man-hours of labor, of war materials, and of property caused by those riots. It will never be possible, however, to calculate the more severe loss of confidence by American citizens in their government and the loss of trust and coöperation between white and Negro Americans who should be working and planning together, wholeheartedly, for victory.

Tragic as these losses are, out of our 1943 interracial experience

has come one important result—a more sober realization by the average American that our national race problem is not simply an interesting sociological condition to be discussed by social workers and theoreticians, that racial prejudice and factual conflict are far more than annoying evidences of our ethnological diversity and political immaturity.

More and more of our population's rank and file are pondering seriously over the real causes and the hoped-for results of this war. They are beginning to realize that America can achieve and hold world leadership in the fight against fascism only by demonstrating her capacity for building social, political, and economic democracy at home. There is a determination that the war years shall be used to lay the foundation for an enduring domestic peace; and there is a growing realization that domestic peace is impossible unless racial conflict is eliminated from our community life and interracial coöperation substituted.

Indicative of this realization and determination is the spontaneous development throughout the country of interracial committees composed of responsible white and Negro citizens who seek to locate the most serious sources of interracial friction in their own communities and to remove their causes. More than one hundred of these committees have been formed in Northern and Western cities. Some have been appointed by governors and mayors; others have sprung up without official encouragement, as expressions of public interest.

The mere existence of these committees is not enough, as the record of many of their predecessors amply proves. In too many instances, they have been simply expressions of public interest without becoming instruments for social action. And, in the field of race relations, social interest that does not develop into social action is sterile and useless indeed.

Sometimes this lack of action by new committees, as well as by established agencies and organizations, is caused less by lack of desire than by lack of information and guidance. Uninformed or inexperienced leadership considers the whole race problem so vast and formidable that it is apt to shudder away, after making one or two ineffectual gestures. Practical and constructive steps in the field of race relations should be of special interest to social agencies, for racial conflict is the most extreme manifestation of America's most urgent social problem. Social agencies, coming in contact with their communities on the plane of everyday living, are best able to grapple with these problems effectively.

The phrase "racial tension" has recently come into popular usage, but there is nothing new about the phenomenon itself. The term is used by persons who are worriedly aware that groups of American citizens, separated by the accident of color, are ready to fly at each other's throats once an incident is provided. In Mobile the incident was the upgrading of skilled Negro shipyard workers. In Los Angeles it was the report of assaults by Mexican zoot-suit wearers upon sailors and soldiers. In New York it was the shooting of a Negro soldier by a white police officer. In Detroit it was a rumor that Negroes had beaten up a white couple; or, conversely, that whites had killed a Negro woman and her baby.

In no case was the incident itself important. The real cause of each riot was the pressure of widespread racial hatred. Backed up behind present attitudes is a great pool of racial antagonism which has been steadily growing for over two centuries. Even where the dam has not broken, there have been steady leakages which, though less dramatic, have caused an equal amount of social destruction. Witness, for instance, the stubborn resistance maintained by Southern railroads and the Railway Brotherhoods against the order of the Fair Employment Practice Committee to employ and upgrade qualified Negro workers. Witness, also, the death of the anti-poll tax bill in Congress; the frequent violence against Negro soldiers in Southern cities and camps; the racially segregated blood bank of the American Red Cross; the successful blocking of war housing for Negroes in Buffalo, Detroit, and dozens of other industrial centers; the defeat of the Federal education subsidy bill; and the renewed activities of the Christian Front and the Ku Klux Klan through new creature organizations. These are only a few of the ominous signs that not all racial conflict is fought out in bloody battles on the streets of industrial cities.

Our next steps in racial advancement must be based upon a realization of the actual forces that produce the outbreaks. While this reservoir of racial hatred continues to swell, we must take every precaution to keep the walls of the dam in good repair. But we must do more than this—we must drain the pool itself, by re-educating the American public on matters of race. Further, we must remove the economic, political, and social causes which have for so many years been feeding the pool of racial misunderstanding and hostility.

The 1943 Annual Conference of the National Urban League addressed itself to the problem of racial conflict and offered a fifteen-point program to city and state heads and leaders in social work and civic organizations. Those recommendations proposed the appoint-

ment of committees on public morale composed of representative citizens of both races and charged with the responsibility of identifying the racial factors that make for community friction, and removing them. Government heads and city-planning groups were urged to realize that the present period of social mobility offers a chance for re-education and readjustment of Americans in their new wartime environment. They were warned that in many communities Negro populations had grown and would continue to grow; that their adjustment within new urban environments would be successfully accomplished only through sustained campaigns of education directed at both whites and Negroes. Work habits, public behavior, and neighborhood relationships must be stressed by schools, social agencies, and every educational facility which the community has to offer. The Urban League warned that racial segregation is no solution for the problems that will continue to develop, but will actually accentuate them. The need for the reorganization of police departments, in order to create greater public confidence in law enforcement, was stressed. Industrial management and organized labor were exhorted to develop effective concern for the housing, health, and recreational needs of the Negro workers who have come to war centers in response to the call of the nation's industries. Social agencies were urged to re-examine their policies and programs, reorganizing staffs and spreading services so as to meet the emergency needs of their constituencies, of which Negroes will form an increasingly large part. The Urban League Conference placed great stress on provisions that must be made for housing, health, and child care of these Negro and white newcomers, and also advised that intensive programs of consumer education and protection be developed, especially among the Negro population. Finally, the Conference recommendations called for an imaginative and constructive use of all media of public education—church, press, radio, schools, motion pictures—so that racial subjects may be presented in an unbiased and constructive manner to the end of creating proper racial attitudes and understanding.

Many organizations with a sincere desire to help will find themselves at a loss as to what steps should first be taken in order to get results. The problem of employment is naturally the most pressing aspect of the whole question of racial conflict, for conflict is sharpest where economic factors are most apparent. When questions of equality of job opportunity for Negro workers are squarely faced, we are most apt to challenge, not only the deep-seated prejudices of millions of white Americans, but also their most active fears

regarding their own secure future. This is why the Fair Employment Practice Committee has become a symbol both to liberals and to reactionaries in the field of race relations. It is to the credit of American voters that the FEPC was not only established through the pressure of public opinion, but has also been maintained against the continuing attacks of reactionaries in Congress. The surest safeguard against the recurrence of race riots in the postwar period will be to serve notice upon the nation during these critical war years that the democratic job gains which have been achieved thus far will be maintained and expanded in the postwar period. This means the continuance of the FEPC and also the inclusion of the principle of fair employment practice in our Federal labor laws, or through some other administrative means, as a permanent part of our national employment policy.

Such permanence cannot be insured without drastic reorganization of our public employment services. Few Americans except Negro job hunters themselves have realized how freely our public employment services have been used to freeze the Negro's inferior job status. With the exception of New York, Illinois, Ohio, and one or two other progressive states, it was almost impossible, before the war, for Negro workers to secure referral by a state employment service to any except unskilled labor and domestic service jobs. Employment services assumed that job orders that did not specify "Negro" were meant for white workers only; and it is the unusual employer who will specifically request Negro workers for semiskilled or skilled jobs. Thus, except for special agencies working in the field of race relations, the Negro worker has had little assistance in his dogged efforts to advance himself from an insecure, scantily paid job status to one of equality with similarly qualified white workers.

Creation of the emergency War Manpower Commission and federalization of the state employment services have slightly improved the situation. For the first time since World War I there is a central authority directing public employment services which is more or less responsive to the actual demands of the war emergency and which realizes that unrestricted industrial production demands unrestricted use of all labor reserves. But not even the war emergency and the War Manpower Commission have sufficed to change policies and practices in the employment services of certain states. Texas, for instance, when offered a manual prepared in the United States Employment Service for the use of interviewers in handling Negro employment, stiffly responded that Texas had its

"own traditional way" of handling Negro labor and would continue to do so, war or no war. Nor are Southern states the only ones that openly or secretly oppose Federal directives and allow interviewers to continue to use their own discretion and exercise their own prejudices in the referral of Negro workers to war employment.

It is clear, therefore, that if war gains are to be preserved and if the re-employment of Negro veterans is to be accomplished with a minimum of unfairness and conflict, there must be reorganization of our whole public employment setup—a reorganization that starts with Washington and carries through to the most reactionary and sternly resisting state service. Effective safeguards must be included when the supervision of employment services is once more handed back to state governments—safeguards which will insure the right of the qualified Negro eligible to serve on the staff of the agency, which will guarantee courteous and intelligent handling of the job applicants interviewed, which will give the Negro worker the same opportunity as his white fellow to interview the employer who sends in an "open" job order. This, of course, is only one aspect of a broad subject which is infinitely complex, for included in the Negro's problem are the attitudes of employers, the policies of organized labor, and the terms of the collective bargaining agreements arrived at between management and union. Here, then, is a problem which cannot be simply referred to Washington for solution. It is one that focuses, first of all, in the community itself and which must therefore be attacked by local community leadership. It is a job for interracial committees, for social agencies with an interest in employment, for city officials, enlightened employers, and liberal labor leaders.

In every community there should be established, either through the council of social agencies or some other agency similarly representative, a standing committee on interracial job equality and employment security for Negroes. Such a committee should begin immediately to discuss the specifics of postwar employment, such as questions of job seniority, transfer of workers in plant conversion, retraining for peacetime employment, and elimination of restrictions against Negro membership in trade unions. Employment services, both public and private, should be called upon to discharge their responsibility by serving all the people freely, without favor and without discrimination. Vocational schools and guidance centers should be scrutinized to determine, not only the thoroughness of their training and the adequacy of their equipment, but also their racial policies and the attitudes of their staff members.

Most important of all, a public sentiment should be steadily built up in support of the Negro's inalienable American right to contribute his best talents to his community's good and to receive a just return for his services. The problems of Negro workers are not his own alone; they are the problems of the American community. We must not fall into the fatal error which was committed after World War I and repeated during the depression years, when Negroes, after being the last to be hired, became the first to be fired. Racial equality in employment is a fundamental part of industrial democracy, and industrial democracy is simply sound community organization, without which there is no protected American community life.

Employment is by no means the only serious problem which will develop during the war years and continue to develop in the postwar period, unless next steps are taken now. Closely related to employment is the matter of housing, for Negro workers must live decently, healthfully, and within convenient reach of their jobs. The conditions under which they live will affect, as well as reflect, the conditions under which they work: conflict developed in tenancy situations will carry over into job situations; personal and group attitudes that have been built up through the Negro's experience in finding and maintaining a home will affect his job efficiency and his relations with his white fellow workers.

It is disturbing to note the almost complete lack of planning manifested in most American communities regarding the future of Negro housing. I should not say "Negro housing." There is no such thing as "Negro housing"; only the housing of Americans, one tenth of whom happen to be Negroes. In spite of increased Negro populations, in spite of the rapid deterioration of the obsolescent Negro housing which has received no repairs during the war, in spite of population shifts which have taken Negro families across dozens of states, there seems to be no realization by city-planning groups of the fact that these families must be housed, and housed under conditions that are socially desirable. This state of planlessness is strikingly illustrated in the urban redevelopment law recently passed in New York State. That law made possible the planning of New York's Stuyvesant Town, which has been described by one New York newspaper as "a walled city" behind which the forces of bigotry and ignorance would stand entrenched. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, sponsor of Stuyvesant Town, has decreed that this project, to be built as tax-exempt property and therefore subsidized by the city of New York, will bar Negro citizens from

possible tenancy. This arrangement makes the city of New York a partner with a private life insurance company in denying to a group of citizens rights which are theirs as taxpayers.

In St. Louis, a plan for postwar urban redevelopment has been proposed which would demolish a great part of one of the largest areas of Negro residence. It is proposed that in place of these slums shall be erected model apartment houses which will be a credit to the city and which will push the slums away from the center of town. Of course, the Negro slum residents will also be pushed away—to where? The fine new apartment houses are not to be for them. No plans have been proposed for any public or limited-dividend housing to accommodate them. No subdivision is planned for home ownership by low-income Negro families.

St. Louis affords a typical example of the lack of social planning throughout the country. There is too much dependence upon engineers and architects in plans for postwar reconstruction, and not enough upon social engineers. Too often elaborate housing projects, highways, parks, and bridges are brought forward into the blueprint stage without any realization that their only reason for being is the welfare and the social growth of the people themselves.

In every community there should be a formally organized group—whether an emergency committee, a “citizens’ housing council,” or an established social agency—which accepts the responsibility for urging upon city officials and planning bodies the need for decent housing and expanded residential opportunities for the Negro population. As urban redevelopment plans are carried forward, the community should see that the following requirements are included in any proposed legislation: (1) that land acquired under the right of eminent domain shall remain in public ownership, and that restrictive covenants barring occupancy to certain racial and religious groups shall be declared invalid for land acquired under redevelopment laws; (2) that previous site occupants who are economically eligible shall have preferred tenant status in the new housing erected; (3) that where economic and racial groups are displaced because they are unable to qualify for tenancy in new developments, equivalent land area and residential units, either new or conforming with acceptable building standards, shall be provided concurrently as a part of the general redevelopment project; (4) that equivalent land required under this condition shall be provided in areas at least as desirable as the location from which tenants have been displaced—as desirable, that is, in proximity to employment, community facilities, and public utilities.

The contiguous fields of education, recreation, and health also furnish plentiful opportunities for exploration and experiment. It is encouraging to note the appearance in a number of Northern cities of projects in intercultural education and community coöperation. The much publicized Springfield plan in the school system of that Massachusetts city is being matched by similar educational experiments in the schools of Detroit and Chicago. In New York City the Benjamin Franklin High School has for several years conducted an imaginative, intercultural program within the melting pot community of East Harlem. All of these, and many more, are demonstrations of the fact that enlightened educators are beginning to realize both the challenge and the opportunity offered to the public schools for acquainting student and parent groups with the real facts of life about our real America. The intercultural plan is bringing children of different racial, religious, and cultural heritage into a new kind of association based upon mutual understanding of, and respect for, the common contributions made by our various racial and cultural stocks to the building of present-day America. Differences of background, it is being shown, can become interesting stimulants to friendship, rather than causes of suspicion and conflict.

Social agencies are beginning to follow a similar pattern in the development of recreational and group work programs. The settlement house, the community center, the meeting hall are used more and more to bring different population groups together for intergroup interpretation, rather than keeping them apart by perpetuating and fostering group differences. More and more "Negro agencies" are becoming centers of interracial activities. The eventual passing of the Italian settlement, the Polish neighborhood house, will also be a happy sign of more enlightened social work leadership.

It must be admitted that social work as a leadership group has only begun to assume its full responsibilities in this field. Too often social workers have considered the question of race relations as a dangerous, controversial problem to be avoided rather than attacked. It is heartening to notice a recent sharp divergence from this previous point of view. The Detroit Conference on Intercultural Relations, sponsored largely by social work leadership and held less than nine months after the 1943 riot, furnished an inspiring example of how social workers can organize public opinion against racial conflict.

The action of the Detroit Council of Social Agencies in adopting

a racial code for its own guidance and as an example to other social agencies of the community is another bright spot on our professional horizon. The code is simple, and impressive because of its simplicity. It declares that the social agency has a primary responsibility to see that its own employment, board membership, and staff supervision policies are absolutely free of racial bias. It calls for the full inclusion of the Negro community in planning and policy-making by the agency. The code is by no means the perfect social document. It may not be exactly applicable to every city in the country, but its basic commitments and its fundamental philosophy are inescapable in the social obligations which any social agency owes to its community and to itself. The Detroit Council's racial code should be studied by every social worker and board member who believes that equality of opportunity is synonymous with American democracy.

Now is none too soon for social workers to step out boldly, departing from the timid, half-hearted efforts which have previously characterized too much of our activity in the field of race relations. There can be no question about the seriousness of the social need. Imaginative and aggressive leadership has already pointed the way. Liberal trade unions have shown what can be done to correct the distorted attitudes and bitter prejudices of men and women of both races who meet in plants, in mines, and on the ships. Exceptional industrial management, like that of the National Smelting Company in Cleveland, has pioneered impressively in building better relations and freer coöperation between whites and Negroes. A few public-spirited Federal and state officials have shown their awareness of the critical interracial situation and their intelligent concern for what lies ahead in the postwar period. A broadened base of popular support for interracial leadership has recently developed. It remains for us to take advantage of these examples and the increasingly favorable public situation to make our professional skills and our social devotion count most now, when the need is most critical.

Our race problem is not insoluble, the barriers that stand in the way of interracial democracy are not insuperable. All that is needed is an abiding faith in the rightness of the democratic ideal and an unshakable determination that here in our time we shall take the first steps down the road which leads to democratic America.

PLANNING FOR GROUP WORK NEEDS

By ROY SORENSON

THERE HAS BEEN an increase in public concern for youth, and therefore there is greater interest in the broad function within which group work method and recreation have a place. The general public recognizes and accepts the existence of need.

A number of factors have contributed to this situation. In the late thirties and early forties publication of the American Youth Commission studies and of other writings attracted wide public attention. At the beginning of the war the creation within the Federal Security Agency of the Office of Health, Welfare, Recreation, and Related Activities, with the employment of seventy-five field people in the Recreation Division, served also to say to the country that total war required a strong nation and that social adjustment and recreation as well as health, food, and housing were important. Attention has been given by the press, magazines, radio, and films to the problems of adolescents and to juvenile delinquency. Committees have been appointed and conferences have been held. Smaller communities, which formerly had never organized for youth services, have banded together to operate a canteen, or a hospitality center for the United Service Organizations. They are much more aware now of the needs of youth than they were previously. The radio series "Here's to Youth"¹ dramatized childhood and youth needs; in Los Angeles, following the zoot-suit riots, the series "Americans All"² did the same thing. Local conferences, such as the Los Angeles Conference on Childhood and Youth in War-time and the Minneapolis Conference on Delinquency, jointly sponsored by the mayor, the Defense Council, and the Council of Social Agencies, all served to educate the public. It is clear that the public is ready to support bolder plans for youth. It is up to social work to formulate them.

¹"Here's To Youth," a thirteen-week series broadcast by the National Broadcasting Company under the auspices of ten voluntary youth agencies.

²"Americans All," an eight-week series broadcast by the Columbia Broadcasting Company and the Southern California Council on Inter-American Affairs.

The most conspicuous developments in group work have been in relationships, changing alignments, and interagency organization:

1. The past few years have been marked by the growth of planning and joint activity between national agencies, and formal organizations have been created to go further than did the previous informal organizations. The USO united six national agencies into an unusual action program. The Associated Youth-Serving Organizations, Incorporated, united seven national youth-serving organizations³ for planning and action. The National Education-Recreation Council, made up of public and private agency representatives, has existed for a decade. The Office of Civilian Defense has had its National Advisory Committee on Youth; the Children's Bureau, its Commission on Children in Wartime and the National Advisory Committee on Leisure Time Activities for Children; and the Department of Agriculture, its Victory Farm Volunteers Committee. All these committees are composed of representatives of voluntary youth agencies as well as governmental agency representatives and citizens at large.

In Britain the Standing Conference of National Juvenile Organizations reflects the same development, and now the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service affiliates our voluntary agencies with the programs overseas. Thus the war has linked national agencies in closer planning and more coöperative action through formal committees and incorporated joint bodies.

2. New coöperation between voluntary agencies and government has been achieved. This coöperation is of three kinds. The USO represents an intertwining of governmental and voluntary functions novel in the United States. The government provided sponsorship and capital subsidy by supplying a fifth of the buildings, and formal articles of agreement were drawn up between the Federal Security Agency and the USO. In England the government provided public funds for use by voluntary bodies in the "hiring of premises, and securing leaders and instructors."⁴ In Canada the government provides operating budgets for the war services of the voluntary organizations.

This creation of quasi-public programs by merging governmental and voluntary resources should be viewed as strictly a necessity of

³The member agencies are: the Boys' Clubs of America, the Camp Fire Girls, the Girl Scouts, the National Jewish Welfare Board, the National Federation of Settlements, the National Board of the Young Men's Christian Associations, and the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association.

⁴*Service of Youth*, Circular #1486, issued by the British Board of Education, November 27, 1939.

war or of a period of unusual need. Such programs may be needed in the period immediately ahead, but they should not be looked upon as permanently desirable. The American Red Cross, of course, has demonstrated this principle for years, but I doubt whether in the field of youth this plan is best, either for government or for the voluntary agencies beyond a period of overwhelming new needs.

The Junior Citizens' Service Corps in local defense councils illustrated a second type of coöperative governmental and voluntary coöperation. Here is official indorsement of war service by children in voluntary as well as in public programs. This plan has in it elements of soundness, but it is not likely to be continued later.

The most common type of coöperation has been in joint programs. State and county agricultural agencies, the Forestry Service, and local housing authorities have worked closely in youth work projects and in recreational programs with voluntary agencies in many parts of the country. This is the most promising for the future.

The important implication in these three types of war activity is that governmental and voluntary agencies have demonstrated that they can work closely together in meeting mutual problems.

3. State committees, state commissions, or youth authorities have sprung up in two thirds of the states. Some of them deal with recreation; some, with child care programs; others, with broader youth programs; and still others focus on delinquency. Some are appointed by defense councils and others, directly by governors. These state planning bodies hold promise of eventually bringing service to the neglected small towns and villages. It is probable that these state committees and youth authorities are most likely to be significant in the best organized states, still further increasing the differential in service between the better-served and the less-well-served sections of the country. This increase in state planning and action for recreation and group work is hopeful for the future and merits strengthening.

4. Labor's new attitude of coöperation with the social services is resulting in new alignments between organized labor and recreation and group work agencies.

5. A program such as that of the Los Angeles Youth Project, where forty-five new workers were added to the staffs of the voluntary agencies in the midtown section of the city to work in a new pattern of coördinated effort, further demonstrates the changing alignments of voluntary agencies, with each other and with government agencies.

6. Community organization for children and youth in local communities has assumed some new forms during the war and must be redefined for the period ahead. The work of the defense council committees, council of social agency sections, municipal postwar planning councils, and USO councils will need to be rethought in terms of postwar needs.

Thus we have the promise of better collaboration and joint action by national agencies, greater possibilities of governmental-voluntary agency understanding and joint programs, the beginning of state-wide planning and action for recreation and group work, coöperative arrangements with labor, demonstrations of the actual coördination of local voluntary youth programs, and a multiplicity of unifying local community organizational machinery. These relationships, alignments, and interagency organizations have important implications for the future.

Although some promising gains have been made, wartime developments have failed to eliminate the striking inequalities of opportunity and to close the gaps in distribution of services:

1. The important prewar studies of the American Youth Commission, the National Resources Planning Board, and the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy called attention to the inequalities of opportunity between urban and rural youth, between white children and Negro children and other racial minorities, between low-income groups as compared with higher income families, and between boys and girls.

These inequalities still remain, although one development has effected a slightly better balance. The USO is providing services in at least fifteen hundred communities where the usual city agencies have been lacking. The limited amount that they have been able to do, however, for the children and young people of these towns has been more than offset by the impact of new industry, or the proximity of military establishments. The volume of Negro service in USO units has been the starting point for new youth opportunities in many Negro communities.

It is interesting to note that the national financing of the USO provided for the distribution of service according to need, rather than according to local community resources. This network of services planned as to location helped, even though in a limited way, to fill in the gaps resulting from local financing of needs. The experience indicates that while the principle of local financing of needs is sound, and will and should remain the major method of financing, some supplemental statewide and national method of com-

munity grants must be found if the great inequalities are to be erased. The principle of providing community grants, to supplement what the disadvantaged communities can do, is as sound in the financing of voluntary agency programs in neglected areas as is governmental financing of social services where local resources are inadequate. It is not at all certain that state war chests and the National War Fund will find a way to do this when the war is over. The opposition to the continuation of state war chests and some form of national fund is likely to come from the largest and best organized local chests.

2. All the important local studies of the last decade have called attention to the gaps in the distribution of service. The gaps have appeared in neighborhood coverage, in certain age brackets, in service for girls, and in service to racial minorities. The Los Angeles project makes a noteworthy contribution to the more deliberate and planned distribution of youth services. Cities like Cleveland, where the Group Work Council has budgeting functions, provided more money for youth service and deliberately allotted it to neglected neighborhoods. The war has made us more aware of the maldistribution of services within large cities, but the job of securing coöperatively planned distribution still lies ahead.

We must work for more adequate municipal and county budgets for recreational leadership. Park properties and school facilities exist, but the budgets to provide leadership that can utilize these assets for supervised recreation are inadequate in most cities and counties. Therefore, wider use of public facilities through increased budgets for public recreational leadership and better planned distribution of the voluntary agencies' services must be undertaken.

The following quotation appeared in a *Bulletin* of the Standing Conference of National Juvenile Organizations in Britain: ■

The countless Youth organizations of Britain form, if you like, a patchwork quilt made up of pieces of all shapes, sizes and colours. Some of the colours may not harmonise completely with each other, and some people may think that there is too much of one colour or another. But by and large the quilt covers the bed, and we would rather have its patchwork than an austerity or utility bedspread mass-produced in a uniform shade of brown or black or red or whatever the temporarily popular political colour might be.

I would like to continue the analogy by suggesting that the quilt will not cover the bed if the governmental and voluntary patches

² J. F. Wolfenden, headmaster, Uppingham School, in *Bulletin* of Standing Conference of National Juvenile Organisations in Britain, February, 1944.

are not pieced together in a definite pattern. As we near the end of the war we are more aware of the inequalities of opportunities and the gaps in service, but we have not done much about it.

Program developments during wartime represent some contributions to the future, and some setbacks:

1. New forms of service have been developed, such as day care for children, coed clubs for young workers, and teen centers for adolescents. Moreover, group work for the aged has been further developed. These services will have an effect on future group work planning.

2. Community service rendered by children and youth has been greatly extended. Serving one's city and country has become a larger part of the program of all groups in all agencies. An impressive list of the services being performed by children and adolescents appeared in the Community Chest and Councils release "The Story to Tell in 1942." ⁶ Provisions should be made for continuing this type of activity in times of peace.

3. Camping has found new values. Harvest camps and other forms of work camps have shown youth how it may serve the nation and at the same time enjoy camp life. The camps of the Civilian Conservation Corps and some of the Friends Service Camps have also successfully combined work and camping. Coöperative projects among camps, the Forestry Service, agricultural agencies, the Public Works Administration, schools, and farms have shown the feasibility of permanent plans for camping, working, and learning. The long-term possibilities of such summer projects are innumerable.

4. Many of the youth councils and teen-age centers have shown that greater responsibility for the planning and management of its programs can be carried by youth in partnership with nondictatorial adults. It has been a cardinal principle of group work for two decades that the "participants should initiate, plan, execute, and evaluate" their own activities. Youth councils have provided machinery for the exercise of this principle.

5. Organized labor's new interest in group work and the development of programs for war workers have resulted in expanded programs for industrial workers. The methods of determining interests and developing smaller activity groups from mass membership are providing experience that will be a useful contribution to future program building.

⁶ *Youth and Neighborhood Agencies Meet Wartime Problems*, Community Chests & Councils special publicity bulletin No. 3, August 7, 1942, revised in 1944.

6. Another important gain is the growth of the conception that the whole role of the agency in the community, the way it participates in the entire community program and what it stands for, is "program." This concept is in contrast to that which considers the activity program alone as the program of the agency. Community action affecting conditions important to children has been taken by youth agencies, and school and work arrangements, back-to-school campaigns, and work for standards of urban youth's employment on farms are some of the wartime activities of the youth agencies. In the postwar period it will be important for youth agency boards to guard the welfare of youth at a time when industry may not want part-time employees and when difficult adjustments must be made by young people.

Because of preoccupation with large recreational programs, some of the refinements of group work purpose and method have been neglected in these past years. For two decades youth agencies have been assimilating the new insights of education, social psychology, and mental hygiene. This job is far from done, but it has of necessity been arrested during the war. Emphasis upon the greater extension of opportunities is needed, but refinements of method and purpose need not be sacrificed. The chief exceptions to this suspension are the USO developments of short-contact methods and the National Boy Scout research carried on by Charles Hendry, Ronald Lippitt, and Al Zander which contribute a knowledge of research method with groups, as well as new insight into leader-group relations and the consequent training processes. However, on the whole, refinements have suffered. In the coming period teen centers which offer merely loafing and dancing will not answer the problems of adolescents. Unless there are group organization, counseling, and a striving for more important goals, youths' real needs will go untouched.

There is heightened attention to volunteer leadership at a time of scarcity of adequately trained professional workers:

1. The USO and the American Red Cross have made considerable use of volunteers for many services. This has important implications for the future if we can convert the same interest to peacetime programs.

2. Defense council campaigns for volunteers and volunteer bureaus have shown us ways of enlarging volunteer ranks. The publication by the Office of Civilian Defense of suggestions for joint

recruiting and training of volunteers for youth recreation programs⁷ has peacetime implications.

3. A study of the effects of war on volunteer leadership⁸ in California was made by David DeMarche. This study of 101 voluntary agencies showed a 43 percent turnover in volunteer group leadership in one year, and an increase of 37 percent in the number of groups led by professional workers. The sources of leadership were rated, and the three highest were: parents (score of 78); teachers (score of 64); and older boys and girls (score of 57).

Thus it would appear that while the USO and the Red Cross had a great many new volunteers, the older voluntary youth organizations suffered losses and a large turnover of volunteer leaders. We must transfer as much as possible of the interest of new volunteers in war programs to youth service in the continuing agencies.

4. The possibilities of audiovisual means of leadership training seem to be promising when the wartime methods of military and industrial training by sound recordings and motion pictures are combined with the research developments of Hendry, Lippitt, and Zander.

The professional developments during the war teach us, as well, something of the weaknesses of group work agencies. There has been a considerable intake of personnel who lack professional training. Many of these people, with only brief orientation, have shown ability to perform services which professionals have been doing. Three conclusions are warranted from this fact: (1) it may be that trained workers have been spending their time doing jobs which do not require professional training; (2) it may reflect the dominance at present of the larger group type of recreation without the refinements of group work purpose and method which require professional insight and skill; (3) it may mean that the basic professional training in recreation and group work has been organizational rather than technical, and it is easier for laymen to pick up the organizational skills than the technical. This wartime fact must be critically examined for its implications as to the content of professional training and the job assignments of professional personnel.

The USO use of refresher courses on a generic rather than an individual agency basis suggests a method of professional training that will be useful in the period following the war. Large numbers

⁷ *Volunteers for Youth Recreation Programs*, Office of Civilian Defense Publication 3637, March, 1944.

⁸ *Effects of War on Volunteer Leadership*, David F. DeMarche, Group Work Division, California Conference of Social Work, May 12, 1943.

of young people will need to be professionally trained. Only a small number have been receiving training during the war years, and we must increase the flow of trained people into the agencies. Also there is likelihood of an expansion of recreational and group work, both by voluntary agencies and by the government after the war, which will require larger numbers of trained personnel.

Many serious problems and unmet needs have come freshly and intensely to our attention during the war:

1. The wartime adolescents, while in some respects mature beyond their years, are dominated by war ideals and the war tempo. They have been planning only for the duration, they are experiencing the shattering of moral standards which affect boy-girl relationships and marriage ideals, they are less sure of their values than were the adolescents of the prewar years, and as a group they are more cynical. The nation is today aware of teen-age problems, but there is some danger that after the war preoccupation with veterans may smother the newly recognized needs of older children, and we may fail to recognize that youngsters grow up and in a few years these boys and girls will be our young people.

2. Demobilized youth, servicemen and women and war workers, will require services by recreational and group work agencies. The needs of veterans will be widely publicized, and every constructive agency will do its part. Among the 3,000,000 young people under eighteen years of age who are now at work, there will be special problems. When job cutbacks come and veterans compete for available work, large numbers of these youth must either return to school with those who are several years their junior, or face idleness.

In New York State a study of children who left school to work during the war indicates that 80 percent had no intention of going back to school. Certainly we have a back-to-school campaign job to do, and a pressure job to see that the extension of student aid in the form of scholarships, loans, or allowances will enable many young people to take advantage of their educational opportunities. We also must see that the educational arrangements under which they will return are sufficiently flexible.

Employment problems face us. Not all the young workers will or should return to school. Appropriate job opportunities must be provided in private employment and in public works programs. Moreover, child labor standards have been broken and lowered, and we must raise legislative standards for child employment.

3. Racial tensions are more serious in the social and political life of our country now than at any time since the Civil War. This

has constituency and policy implications for recreation and group work agencies in their programs for white, colored, and Spanish-speaking Americans and for Americans of Japanese ancestry. Both the National Board of the Y.W.C.A. and the National Board of the Y.M.C.A. have recently completed Negro-white studies of their programs. Social work must do its part in caring for "democracy's unfinished business."

4. There has been a mass migration of people such as this country has never before experienced. The Atlantic and Pacific seaboard have attracted 5,000,000 people from the interior for aircraft factories and shipbuilding, which are highly specialized geographically. California has increased its population by 1,000,000 people. There will be a rolling back of population when 17,000,000 people are shifted back to civilian jobs. Some communities will be distressed because the local industry may not be convertible. Social work will be concerned for a decade or more with the social effects of wartime mass migration and of that which is yet to occur. Recreation and group work will need flexibility as community populations enlarge or diminish after the war.

5. The war has made us aware of the effect of national and world issues upon the life of everyone. Programs of education for democratic citizenship and in public affairs have increased to some extent during the war, and social ideals are in the saddle. There is talk of one world, of racial justice, and of full employment. Democracy, justice, and freedom are our rallying cries. Yet dark times may be just ahead, for following a war the idealists are spent and the reactionaries stir to action.

It seems strange that people are willing to give up their own lives, or those of their sons, for democracy, justice, and peace, and yet are unwilling to give up their prejudices of race or their entrenched stands on group interests or agency sovereignty, or the self-sufficiency of local financing of social services. If this is true during war, how much more will it be true in the backwash of lowered idealism and reaction which may lie ahead?

Peace is not merely a cessation of military action; it is an achievement which cannot be guaranteed by military action alone. Our own domestic economic and social issues are interwoven with those of world organization, and there is need for an acceleration of liberal social education.

The depression witnessed the organization of groups of young people for political purposes, including the American Youth Congress, in 1934, and the World Youth Congress in 1935. Many youth

groups received their impetus from left wing political groups. We are likely to see a resurgence of such movements, started and led by young people, after the war. There are now the American Youth in a Free World and the American Youth for Democracy. Recreation and group work agencies will need principles by which to govern their relations with such youth movements. In such relations the methods of the youth agencies in their own program will be important.

What then are the group work planning implications for the future?

1. Group work and recreation planning must be oriented to the big problems of our time: inequalities of opportunity and gaps in service for different parts of our population; the needs of children and adolescents; racial needs and tensions; demobilized youth; mass migration of population; distressed industrial communities; and the need for educating for democracy and world citizenship.

2. Group work and recreation must conserve the more promising developments that have come during the war: new forms of group work service and program emphases; greater initiative and responsibility on the part of youth itself; wider use of volunteers; beginnings of state and national financing, through private funds, of needs which cannot be met by local communities; emergence of new local forms of community organization; experiments in local interagency service projects; and action on community conditions that affect children.

3. Group work and recreation must remedy the neglects and the weaknesses that have been revealed during the war period: refinements in methods, especially the use of group work insight and method in the larger recreational situation; clarification between organizational and technical professional training and the professional training of large numbers of qualified workers; increase in local municipal budgets for leadership in park and school facilities; and planned distribution of services by the voluntary agencies according to neighborhood, age, sex, and race.

4. Group work and recreation must learn to use nationally the new machinery it has created for coöperative planning and joint action: the Association of Youth-Serving Organizations; the several national advisory committees of government in the Children's Bureau, the OCD, and the Department of Agriculture; and the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service.

5. Group work and recreation must plan with the expectation that the public will support bolder plans because it has been awak-

ened to the problems and expects enterprises commensurate with the need.

I close with a quotation from a recent statement of the Children's Bureau Commission on Children in Wartime: ⁹

The post-war planning now under way must provide for children and youth if victory is to mean opportunity for them to share in building a world based on freedom and justice. We dare not, for them or for our future, risk another generation of transient, idle, frustrated youth, like that of the early years of the depression. . . . All political parties [and, I add, all youth agencies] have an obligation to pledge full support of measures needed to assure to all the children and youth of the nation at least the minimum opportunities required to equip them to take their part in democracy and in the establishment of peace and justice among the peoples of the world.

⁹ *Goals For Children and Youth as We Move From War to Peace*, U. S. Children's Bureau Commission on Children in Wartime, adopted March 17-18, 1944.

PROBLEMS IN TEEN-AGE HANGOUTS

By HAZEL OSBORN

WHEN A SERVICE is new, it is taken for granted that those who operate it, or make use of it, will discuss it with interest, abandon, and no loss of prestige. After a while, it is assumed that the problems will have disappeared, and then more courage and delicacy will be required in publicizing them. For the time being, youth canteens, drop-in-lounges, kid inns, and hangouts are new enough to permit a fairly free presentation of their problems.

In classifying these programs we might say that some hangouts represent an extension of the programs of established youth-serving agencies, with the result that a new constituency is attracted to the agency. Their activities may be carried on in the agency building or in new centers. Other youth centers have been established through the joint efforts of several agencies or interested community groups, while some canteens are established and operated by young people without adult support or supervision. In a number of ways these canteens resemble the cellar clubs of the depression years.

The youth centers in any one of these categories will undoubtedly differ, one from another in a number of respects, such as the age range served, the hours and days when they are open, the plan of registration or membership, the degree and kind of self-government, the way in which they are financed, the amount of control that adults exercise, and so on. It will be found, however, that all hangouts are coeducational and that there are always more boys than girls present; that the ages of the participants rarely go above twenty or under fourteen; that hardly anyone knows the last names of more than a few people; that there are few planned activities; that only rarely does anyone have to do anything he does not want to do; that more latitude in behavior is accepted than in other kinds of youth programs; that there is a relatively small amount of adult supervision; that in respect to age, class, race, nationality, degree of emotional development and social experience, behavior codes, and

previous acquaintance with youth agencies the hangout groups are more mixed than has been usual heretofore in group activities.

Of the five hangouts operated by Detroit Young Women's Christian Association, three are open five or six days a week, while two are run on a part-time basis. At the Lucy Thurman Branch there is a hangout type of dance on Friday evenings. An effort has been made to confine the attendance to teen-agers who are attending school, and the youngsters come from all over the city. The International Center has a drop-in program of general recreation on Wednesday evenings and a dance on Fridays. Their programs attract as many out-of-school as in-school youth, many of whom come from the low-middle-class neighborhood in which the center is located. Many of the out-of school boys who come to the center are unemployed. Although they do not belong to a particular gang, these boys have a number of the same tendencies and exhibit similar group bravado. Southwestern Center, open six days of the week from four until eleven P.M., was Detroit's first full-time Y.W.C.A. hangout. Although the youth program was originally intended to be only a part of the center's activities, the 800 teen-agers who arrived for the opening dance could not be ignored. Youngsters from all over the city continue to attend the center, which is located in a working-class neighborhood, although a close affiliation has been maintained with students from the high school directly across the street. In December, 1943, the Oakwood gang, made up of Italian boys, began to come to the center, and in spite of many ups and downs, including a brief challenge by the Michigan gang, the continued dislike of the high school crowd, and the prolonged absences of various members because of jail sentences, they have continued to attend. About twenty-five Negroes are present every evening and about forty come to dance nights. On a typical evening the crowd included the following categories: older, tough Negro boys who formed a closed group; individual Negroes who moved around more freely, some of whom were hangers-on to the closed group; swaggering zoot-suited gang members, with long side-burns; younger boys of junior high school age who smoked and, in general, imitated the older boys; some fairly clean-cut high school boys who played ping-pong or sat and talked; a pair of boys who wandered around, watched what went on, and drank pop but did not enter into any of the activities; individual girls who casually walked around and talked to the boys; younger girls who were less casual; and drifters, both boys and girls, who seemed to be rather tough young workers. On many evenings a

number of younger servicemen attend, as well as boys who have been discharged from the Army or Navy.

The Central Branch Hangout is located on the sixth floor of a ten-story building in downtown Detroit. The building itself, almost as imposing and formal as an athletic club, is used by many civic and club groups as well as for the usual activities of a Y.W.C.A. The committee which helped to organize the hangout was made up of former participants in a coed youth program together with girls and boys from several high schools. For a while, these youngsters were in the majority, but after two or three months an Italian gang which dominates certain youth activities east of Woodward Avenue in downtown Detroit and a Mexican gang which plays a similar role west of Woodward met in the hangout. Since the building is just off Woodward Avenue, the center became the unwitting victim of a jurisdictional dispute which involved a certain amount of destruction and some fighting before the Mexicans triumphed.

The Central Branch Hangout is manned entirely by volunteers except on Friday and Saturday. It is closed on Tuesdays and on Saturdays is open from seven till twelve. There is a weekly dance for those youngsters who want to put on jackets and ties, and who want to spend forty cents.

The Drop-in-Lounge at the Highland Park Branch, located in an upper-middle-class section, is the third fulltime hangout. The lounge is open from seven until eleven, Monday through Friday nights. The age range is from fifteen to twenty and since all who come must register, this is the only hangout for which we have reliable figures on attendance. There is always a staff member on duty and usually there are three or four volunteer assistants. The attendance on an average evening varies from 150 to 175. Many of the youngsters come from all over the city, but a large number come from Hamtramck, a Polish community adjacent to Highland Park. Few middle-class youngsters come to the lounge during the week, but a number attend the Saturday night dances.

It is safe to say that many of the problems found in the development of hangouts are those of any pioneering effort. There is all the excitement of a new venture as well as all the uncertainty of breaking with tradition and finding a new path good enough to justify the change that is involved. In addition, those youth centers which develop within established agencies face many of the difficulties encountered by children of elderly parents, whose brothers and sisters are considerably older than they are. Although the par-

ents have become somewhat staid, they may be eager to modernize their attitudes; however, it is hard for them to accept new ways when the older children appear to have turned out all right. Or, the older children may not approve of the parents' more liberal attitude toward the younger one, and as a result there is considerable tension in the family group. Then, too, there are always questions as to how the relatives and neighbors will react. All of this is hard on everyone including the baby.

In a number of instances, the origin of teen-age programs seems to have been by a process of spontaneous combustion. It appears that the desire to adopt a less stereotyped approach to youth activities coincided with an unprecedented demand for "unimproving" recreation on the part of teen-agers, and our meager preparation gave rise to many problems which have since been encountered. Although we are trying to adjust our methods to these youngsters who are unaccustomed to group activities, the pressure on staff members has been great. We had grown used to thinking that our way of life represented a kind of norm and that other ways of behaving were unacceptable. As we have become better acquainted with our new clientele, we have discovered that they are a mixture of both different and familiar elements. We have found out that Emily Post has many names and may even wear a zoot suit, and that sometimes it is as important to keep a hat on as to take it off. This, and all that it implies, is a startling discovery, but as we become used to the situation and are better able to handle it, we will find ourselves becoming more accepting of differences, and to that extent more professional in our relation to many of the youngsters and the problems of the hangouts.

The overwhelming attendance at the hangouts made necessary the use of volunteer assistants even before we knew what we wanted them to help us to do and, consequently, before we were able to give them much support. In spite of the fact that many of them represented life patterns as middle-class as our own and that their readiness for adventure was not always sufficiently strong to withstand the rigors of the situation, a goodly number of these volunteers have survived. Their interest has been very real, and for the most part, they are eager to know the youngsters. In general, they have wanted to make the hangouts friendly places, and more errors have been made through hesitating to impose limits than by hasty action. By and large, the volunteers have been committed to the fact that we were trying something new and important and this has

helped them to cope with some difficult situations. As a result, the volunteers form a valuable corps of interpreters for the hangouts.

However, few volunteers can serve more than one afternoon or evening a week, and thus it has been impossible to have much continuity of leadership. Consequently, it has taken the volunteers longer to feel at home in the situation, and it has taken the staff longer to share with them our gradually accumulated experience. Obviously, the lack of continuity has impeded the development of procedures which need daily encouragement and attention. Moreover, it has imposed extra difficulties and confusion on the youngsters and has made it harder for them to feel at home. If the staff had brought more accumulated experience to the situation and had more time and skill in supervision, some of the problems might have been mitigated. As it is, problems have been sensed, but they have not been solved. It will doubtless be some time before we discover how these volunteer jobs can be developed to the end of enriching the program. We must also find out how the volunteers can be brought into the main stream of hangout life, or determine whether it is the nature of hangouts to keep adults on the periphery.

A number of problems relating to the internal operation of hangouts need exploration and consideration:

1. What are we really trying to do in hangouts? Are they "beer parlors without beer?" Should they try to be something more? What is too much or too little program for a hangout? What kind of help (staff or volunteer) do we need, and what constitutes adequate help? What should we do about fights, runaways, gambling, drinking, necking, stealing, and destruction of property?

2. What about the great variety of youngsters who come to hangouts? Can everybody get along together? What differences are irreconcilable? What conditions the survival of the fittest? What should we do about gangs, who seem to drive other youngsters away or who want to dominate the hangouts?

3. What constitutes democracy in a hangout? Does it operate—through youth councils or in other ways? How are youth councils elected? How much responsibility can be given to youth councils or similar groups?

4. When do procedures become restrictions? What do we do about membership, registration fees, financing, replacements of breakage? What constitutes sensible control of equipment?

5. What should be done about public relations within the agency in regard to codes of behavior to which the older constituency is

not reconciled, different standards of housekeeping and interior decoration, and so on?

6. What should be done about public relations outside the agency? What do we do about the neighborhood people and the parents who do not approve of the hangouts; the schools that consider our methods too unconventional and an added inducement to truancy; other agencies whose clientele leaves because they can smoke in the hangouts; and the police, whose ideas of discipline may differ from those of the hangout staff?

7. How do we evaluate hangouts—what kinds of evaluations do or do not apply?

Since we have been concerned with hangouts and with the youngsters who come to them, we have grown much more aware of our past assumptions and the barriers which they set up. Because of these barriers, we were not able or willing to help a great many youngsters to feel comfortable in our buildings or programs. The things there were to do, or the way in which the youngsters were supposed to conduct themselves, were too far from the life to which they were accustomed. We expected them to come all the way. Our programs called for too abrupt an adjustment on the part of teenagers who were not used to middle-class manners and values. Perhaps one of the things we are trying to do in hangouts is to create an atmosphere which is midway between the possible indifference or neglect in the youngster's home and the "improvement" he is eager to avoid.

Another function of hangouts might be said to consist of letting the youngsters alone. Sometime ago, and in a very different connection, Bertha Reynolds said that the difficulty of helping people to grow could be measured in part by considering how hard it was to let them alone. Before people can grow, they have to feel free to do so. Another way of saying this might be that youngsters need something more than being let alone, but that they need that first. They cannot improve themselves until they have our support, and many of them do not get much support from other sources. Perhaps it is too easy to assume that teen-agers frequent beer parlors just because of the beer. Perhaps they take the beer along with the friendliness, the anonymity, the chance to imitate adult behavior, to be free from restrictions, and so on. It may be that in an easy, friendly atmosphere of this kind youngsters feel that they are "being themselves," and that for better or for worse they are the architects of their own little destinies. Thus, the purpose of hangouts may be the establishment of an environment where the emphasis on

growth does not mean "improvement" in the direction of becoming more like us. Whether or not this statement of purpose is too vague to be valid may be another of our problems. Until we are more clear as to our definition, we cannot focus our services as helpfully as we should. Also, the possibility of helping youth to stake out a little area of freedom in the midst of community pressures for simultaneous improvement on all fronts remains questionable.

Over and over again, the question arises as to how many kinds or degrees of difference in background and behavior can be combined in a single hangout. To how great a mixture can we be hospitable, and when do the extremes get too far apart? Some staff members have had considerable hope that the youth centers might provide a means of "introducing everybody to each other"—the more privileged to the less privileged, the East Side to the West Side, the Italians to the Mexicans, and so on. However, the number of real and potential clashes between class, caste, age, and other groupings has indicated that the mixture in any hangout is apt to remain unresolved for some time and that it cannot be infinite. We have tried to be aware of interior similarities in the midst of external dissimilarity; that is, youngsters from the East or West Side, boys or girls, black or white, age fourteen and age twenty, may all present comparable degrees of social or emotional experience, may all have a similar need for friendliness, or may all be similarly malnourished so far as home satisfactions are concerned. It is most difficult to discern the currents and cross-currents which culminate in more or less violent behavior, and we will have to be considerably more astute before we will feel very sure about what to do, since what we do, as well as how we do it, will affect both the participants and the onlookers. These are familiar problems of group leadership multiplied and exaggerated by the size of the hangout, the few adults in proportion to the number of youngsters, our inexperience in working with boys and girls together, our uncertainty as to nonmiddle-class behavior codes, and the tempo of the times.

We are still puzzled about the direction and method of program development, and experience with club groups is of little assistance. We have been interested in the development of marginal activities that would give opportunity for small groups within the hangouts to develop and carry through any special projects in which they were interested. We have never been very clear about what these projects might be, and it is possible that development of this kind will depend on securing more adequate staff for the hangouts. So far, there has been little contact of a program nature with the youngsters.

Few of us have an innate or acquired interest in boogie woogie, jitterbugging, or poker, to name three popular activities, although some of us have been willing to take lessons. Again, the conditions under which we work tend to slow down the process of program development, which at its best is rarely swift or sure.

Undoubtedly, our most obvious and possibly our most acute difficulties have centered around some of the behavior problems of fighting, gambling, destruction of property, and necking. In dealing with these situations, we have again tried to shake off the dust of stereotyped handling. We have tried to realize that just because behavior is disturbing to us, it is not necessarily bad and that all instances of fighting, necking, or breakage are not of equal seriousness. This has put quite a burden on our powers of discrimination. As it became known that we were loath to function in a conventionally rigid way, our relatives and neighbors assumed that we might be setting out to produce better gamblers, fighters, and neckers. Were we? Such questions were quite frightening. Eventually, we realized that what was at stake was not a different goal from that which was expected of us, but rather a different approach to it. Apparently, we hoped that by putting up with some things that we did not like, we might in time eradicate some interests and attitudes or help to establish new ones. We went on the premise that if our approach was such that it forbade antisocial behavior, we would not be able to work with antisocial youngsters. Furthermore, we felt that they had to be able to exhibit their antisocial behavior if they were to be comfortable with us. All of this was hard, and we often longed for restrictions which would free us from the responsibility of coping with these antisocial acts and of trying to decide when enough was enough. In putting youngsters out of the centers, or in otherwise trying to define limits, we have tried to let them know that we were still interested in them. This is the familiar approach of accepting the youngster even though we cannot accept all his behavior. (In general, this approach has been more familiar in literature than in life, and it is definitely difficult to achieve.)

Gangs have caused considerable concern. In the first place, we are still surprised by the preponderance of boys who attend the hangouts. In addition, two hangouts have special gangs whose members have attended fairly steadily over a period of months. Here the problem, aside from destructive and generally difficult behavior, has centered around threats of one kind or another, mostly from high school groups, that we must put the gang out or, eventually,

no one else will come. So far, we have not yielded to these threats, hoping that the gangs might become more manageable if we could break down some of the resistance to them. It is difficult to know whether or not we have succeeded, but one of the Oakwood gang recently said that he had never met any friendlier people in his life than the staff and volunteers at the Southwestern Center. At Central Branch, the problem has been one of trying to incorporate representatives from various gangs into the Youth Committee in the hope that this plan might deter some of the fights for control of the hangout. So far, it has been a more effective device for integration after a fight than as prevention, and gangs and groups still threaten one another.

The situation pointedly raises the question of how we can function democratically in the hangouts. Again, we have found that none of the old patterns fit the new situation very well. In two of the fulltime hangouts, we started with committees made up of high school youngsters. These groups were perhaps not really representative, and in general the committees have not taken much collective responsibility.

In the two hangouts which were started by youth committees, a fairly strenuous effort has been necessary in order to restrain the exclusive tendencies of the committee members. This same possessiveness has developed in subgroups on the dance floor and at the ping-pong tables. Until the juke boxes were equipped with remote control, they, too, were centers of struggle. Thus the picture of give and take in the hangouts indicates an ever shifting configuration of exclusiveness, although there have been some interesting exceptions. So far, there has been no attempt on the part of the gangs to purge the high school groups, and no concerted effort has been made to keep them away. Since a wider latitude of behavior has been accepted in hangouts than in other agency groups, both individual and group aggressiveness have been given more scope. Consequently, the politeness which served as a lubricating agent in many of our previous efforts at achieving democratic control is not available, and we have had to learn to deal with the raw ingredients. We have also had to think carefully about the area in which the youth committees are given authority since the agency purpose in regard to the hangouts, vague as it is, may be defeated by the committee's vigorous efforts in favor of exclusiveness.

In considering administrative problems, our efforts have focused on the degree to which administrative procedures can affect and reflect some of the reasons why youngsters like and want hangouts.

An incident from the Southwestern Center may illustrate this point. One day several members of the Oakwood gang announced that they would not be around much more as they were about to have "a 'Y' of their own." They also said that nothing would be stolen from the new "Y" and nothing would be damaged, for they would be in charge. The day the new "Y" (a city recreation center) opened, the boys were at Southwest Center until time for the opening ceremonies. The next day they were back again, and told us quite spontaneously that they were disappointed in their new "Y" because everybody had to sign up to get in, the boys and girls were separated, there was no smoking, and in order to play pool (an activity we do not offer) they had to line up and have their cards punched. All this routine was more than they could bear. We thought that there was something to be learned from their return to a freer atmosphere as well as from their quick recognition of the situation.

The Highland Park Drop-in-Lounge is the only one of our centers where registration is required. Here the plan was not started until the youngsters had been coming for about two months and felt sufficiently at home to take the risk involved in this procedure. There are no membership fees in any of our hangouts, although most of them have membership cards. No admission is charged except for dances when there is an orchestra. Proceeds from the coke bars and the dances provide enough money to cover the cost of phonograph records, games, ping-pong balls, and minor replacements in breakage. So far, we have not felt a great deal of pressure in the administrative area and hope that by keeping it keyed closely to the general purpose of the program we can prevent new problems from arising.

The stress of pioneering is particularly acute in public relations. We are constantly made aware that thoughtful and careful interpretation must be made to agency and community groups if they are to realize the essential newness of what we are trying to do. Both board and staff members are understandably anxious about the good name of the agency, and no one wants to alienate participants who have been an integral part of the organization for years. Those who see no embodiment of the ideals of the organization in the development of the hangouts feel a natural conflict of values, and casual observers are wont to believe that the teen-agers are willfully destructive. The staff members cannot help feeling a double burden of insecurity under the impact of constant attack from the outside while they wrestle with the internal problems.

We have met our problems only partially. To those groups and

individuals who fear that we have lost control and that the chaos in the centers is the result, we try to explain that we are attempting to do something different and that the chaos is part of it. We give our critics plentiful opportunities to express their negative feelings and we are as accepting as our own anxiety allows us to be. Community criticism and apprehension have been omnipresent. The police and others frequently cannot understand our willingness to work with boys and girls who have caused them so much trouble. Sometimes they give us the impression that our unwillingness to penalize these youngsters is the same thing as changing sides in the middle of the game. Some of this feeling has been modified as we have become better acquainted, and a number of policemen have brought complaining citizens to the hangouts to see for themselves. However, the police still tend to be overbearing and to undermine the authority of the hangout staff. Consequently, a job of interpretation remains to be done.

Many people, whose own adjustment to highly scheduled and competitive lives is such that they have accepted these conditions as normal and necessary, tend to be especially critical of the lack of scheduled activities and the amount of loafing in the hangouts. We try to explain that there are more leisure-time programs for youngsters who can bear schedules and competition than there are for boys and girls who need a place where attendance and acceptance are not dependent on improving their skills or broadening their knowledge, and that hangouts are primarily for teen-agers who cannot take the other kind of recreation.

The whole matter of interpretation is closely related to the way in which we evaluate what is happening in these centers. We know that we have reached a great many youngsters who have been wary of social agencies. Undoubtedly, the hangouts have exercised a semiprotective function and have kept many of these youngsters from corner beer parlors. We hope that our tolerance of a certain amount of antisocial behavior has made it easier for the teen-agers to like us and that to this extent their suspicions of social agencies may have been lessened. However, we are quite sure that none of these things happen either quickly or completely, and it is too soon to have any pat answers or to see obvious results.

Many group work and recreation programs are evaluated in terms of fairly tangible results such as attendance, specific program projects, and activities. The intangibles relating to process and individual needs still escape us. Thus in evaluating the hangouts, we are faced with few definite results and little experience in appraising

social or emotional growth. In view of the many differences between hangouts and club groups, it is obvious that the bases of evaluation would not be the same. At the same time, we are faced with the need of developing some criteria or basis on which to determine the future of hangout programs.

The juke box and coke bar have been acclaimed from coast to coast as the essential ingredients for an up-to-date youth program which will effectively counteract the high rate of delinquency. Other ingredients are less symbolic but equally essential if the agencies and the community are to succeed in helping these troubled youngsters. The juke box and coke bar cannot transform resistant teen-agers into outstanding citizens. Perhaps the greatest value in considering the many problems which we have encountered in our brief experience in Detroit lies in realizing what is involved in changing a pattern of work, what kinds of worries and concerns are an inevitable part of the process, and how much still lies ahead. If it also indicates that there is value in changing our pattern and that many needs cannot be met until we can do so, then perhaps we will have made a little contribution to social courage and social change.

BRITISH YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS AND THE REHABILITATION OF LIBERATED EUROPE

By ERWIN SCHULLER

BBRITISH YOUTH ORGANIZATIONS have faced many problems since 1939. The demands which they have been called upon to meet have greatly increased, and at the same time many of their resources, such as available buildings and trained personnel, have dwindled considerably. Most remarkable has been the extent to which the organizations have accepted the challenge of wartime conditions and have succeeded in surmounting difficulties and mobilizing new resources.

From three excellent sources the British youth organizations have drawn additional strength with the result that they are today undoubtedly even stronger than they were before the war. First of all should be mentioned the thought and imagination which have been put into planning the practical operation of these organizations. Many makeshift arrangements had to be made in order to meet the new needs created by dwindling resources and the loss of trained workers. It was soon discovered that at least a few of the makeshift arrangements suggested most interesting and significant experiments with great possibilities for long-term development under normal conditions. Among the most fruitful are the methods which have been evolved for the quick emergency training of part-time youth leaders. Not only have these methods revealed ways and means of training which will be of value after the war, but they have brought about the development of clearer thinking and the formulation of more precise statements on the fundamental principles which underly British youth work and have engendered a greater appreciation of the many phases with which youth work is concerned.

A second source of strength, which is partly a result of the more lucid thinking, is the new conception of what should be the relationship between the different youth organizations which formerly functioned either in conscious competition, or in isolation and without much knowledge of each other. The conception that there

should be coördination of the organizations doing youth work demands the reconciliation of two values that are not easy to reconcile: on the one hand, the preservation and further development of the distinctive contribution which each youth organization can give, whether spiritual, moral, or otherwise; and, on the other hand, the pooling of common resources and the development of effective coöperation without impairing the integrity, independence, and distinctive character of the individual agency.

The third source of strength is the increased interest which people associated with this work in Britain have shown toward the problems of youth, both within and outside the country. For this there has been a number of reasons.

In Great Britain those who have been concerned with youth work were, during the years preceding the war, greatly impressed by some features of the fascist and Nazi youth movements. They evinced particular interest in the way in which the German and the Italian youth organizations succeeded in mobilizing the enthusiasm and stirring the imagination of the young people in those countries. Would it be possible to combine such enthusiasm with an appreciation of the ethical values for which British youth organizations stand? That was one question which many people in Britain felt it their duty to face.

Further questions have arisen from the presence in Britain of so many people, both from the Continent of Europe and from overseas, who are not disinterested visitors, but men and women with a burning concern for the issues which are confronting Britain, and with a keen desire to learn all they can of British experience so that they may contribute after the war toward the building of a new society at home. These people show a special interest in our youth work. They ask searching questions, and then compare what they have learned with their experience at home.

As a result, the people concerned with youth work in Britain have for some time been planning, both for present and for future needs, in broader terms than they have in the past. They are comparing their own aims and methods with the work which has been done in this field in other countries; and they are attempting to distinguish between those features of British youth work which are of importance only to British people and those features which may be of significance in other countries as well and which may represent a distinctive British contribution to the future development of the liberated countries.

It is fully recognized in Britain that however important the

British contribution may be to the reconstruction of Europe, it can only be a supplementary contribution. The principal contribution must be rooted in the national traditions of the local people. No contribution can be of lasting value if it is not grafted onto a healthy and live local growth, and this grafting process will have to be done with great skill and with a sensitive appreciation of local values and traditions.

Secondly, if the liberated European nations look to foreign contributions to revive and develop youth work in their countries, the British contribution can only be one of several. Other nations will have their part to play. In some instances, the contribution of other foreign nations will be at least as important as that of the British, and it is from the United States above all that the British people are expecting a contribution of distinctive character and quality.

What are the most significant features which British youth organizations have in common? Are they valid beyond the special set of geographical, economic, social, and religious conditions of British society in which they have grown? Can these features, which may admirably suit British needs and resources, be of any practical value during the immediate postwar period in countries which have suffered Nazi domination, and whose needs and resources will be so very different from anything that the most imaginative British man or woman can visualize?

It is the distinctive function of British youth organizations to develop the ability of young persons to establish satisfactory social relations as members of a group and also to deal with people who are members of another group. "Good fellowship" is perhaps the best term by which to describe the most valued quality of this relationship. A good youth organization will endow its members with a social skill and a social discipline which will help those who possess it to improve relations between different sections of a community and to create good fellowship wherever they are.

Some may feel that this too narrowly limits the functions of an organization. What about those all-embracing purposes which the spokesmen of youth organizations so frequently enunciate: to improve the physical, mental, moral, and spiritual welfare of young people? Is not the development of social skill and social discipline merely one part of the functions of a youth organization? It is not suggested that these are not also important and legitimate functions of youth organizations. It is suggested that the *distinctive* function of British youth organizations is their social function; that this function above all distinguishes them from many Continental youth

organizations; and that it is by making clear how they succeed in fulfilling this function that British youth organizations can render their greatest service in the liberated countries.

We need a more concrete picture of the social functions which British youth organizations perform so extraordinarily well. Good fellowship is a yardstick by which the quality of any particular club or organization in Britain is judged. Or, if you put it the other way round, everybody concerned with youth work in Britain would strongly disapprove of a youth organization which did not encourage good fellowship, however impressive the members' physical and mental achievements might be. But it may be difficult to see the full significance of the overriding importance which is attached to this aspect of youth work in Britain. Is not good fellowship the natural atmosphere of a youth organization, especially of a voluntary youth organization? Why should young people join if they do not enjoy being with other young people? There is no need to make a fuss about fellowship, for surely youth organizations in other countries can claim the same characteristic!

Fellowship, as we use the term, means that each member and each section of the community is willing to respect the other's ideas, ideals, and interests; that members of one section are not asked to sacrifice all their wishes for the sake of a community which is represented by either a larger membership, or by the oldest, or the ablest, or the strongest. Most important of all, good fellowship implies that special consideration will be given to weaker sections which cannot maintain their point of view without the sympathy and support of the stronger sections. The cultivation of satisfactory relationships in this respect is, I think, the main achievement of British youth organizations. I do not think that it is possible to overrate its importance.

There is in Britain general agreement that the quality of a youth club does not depend on uniformity in view and attitude of all members nor on their general conformity with standards which either tradition or a leader or a majority establishes. It depends rather on the scope which it offers to a variety of young people whose background, outlook, gifts, and aspirations differ, so long as these differences do not cause isolation or even hostility between individuals and sections of the club. If you want such a state of affairs in a club, two conditions are necessary: First, there must be a multiplicity of activities so that the individual member will be concerned with different interests. He will find himself at one time associated with the greater number or the more skilful members

in a particular activity; in another activity, he will be among the least successful or one of a small minority. Secondly, there must be established a code of behavior which helps to develop a genuine partnership between the weaker section and whatever group is at any given moment the stronger section of the community.

On the Continent these considerations have, on the whole, received less attention than they have in Britain. In the first place, European groups are more often organized for a special purpose. The natural result of a special-purpose organization is the development of a hierarchy according to the skill which individual members display. Such a hierarchy is dangerous. It prepares young people for the invidious form of autocracy which a technocracy represents. It encourages excessive respect for superior skill in a special field and a tendency to attribute to the specialist, superior wisdom in the direction of club affairs in general. It encourages an inclination to grant to the expert social and political powers which he is not qualified to use properly. Such an environment does not help to develop good fellowship.

True, a youth organization concerned with only one activity has certain advantages which an all-purpose organization does not possess to the same degree. In such an organization the members' ambitions tend to be aroused more strongly; they are encouraged to make an extra effort. Therefore, a single-purpose organization encourages the competitive spirit among its members and increases their appreciation for technical efficiency. If a sufficient number of a nation's young people are brought up in the atmosphere of such youth organizations it will probably help to enhance the technical efficiency of that nation. But it will also help to develop a mentality which anthropologists describe as of the "pecking" order. This term aptly describes a social order in which the status of each member is defined by his superiority or inferiority in relation to other members—his ability to "peck" other people with impunity. Whatever merits may be attributed to such a social order, it does not make for good fellowship.

The second significant feature of British youth organizations is a code of behavior which helps to develop a partnership between the stronger and the weaker members or sections of a community.

Among Continentals, there is a widespread notion that democracy is a dictatorship of the majority. If an issue arises on which members of a Continental community are divided, and if they adhere to their notion of democratic principles, the issue is discussed, both parties are given a fair hearing, and the democratic procedure is

scrupulously followed, until at last the vote is taken. In the end, however, the minority will be expected to submit unconditionally to the decision of the majority. If, on the Continent of Europe, they refuse to do so, they are liable to be blamed for their "un-democratic" behavior, for refusing to bow to a majority decision or to conform to the standards established by the majority.

Compare that procedure with a similar procedure in Britain. The difference is primarily this: Although it is often said in Britain that democracy is the rule of the majority, so far as British democracy is concerned that is not true; or at least it is a half-truth which is dangerously misleading. In Britain, on the contrary, members of the majority are bound by a definite code of behavior in their attitude toward members of the minority and they must show consideration for the wishes and demands of the minority. Often a meeting hotly debates a controversial matter, yet no vote is taken. The chairman prefers to sum up the "sense of the meeting" in an attempt to reconcile the conflicting views. If a vote is taken, the majority will, usually, somewhat amend their original proposals. They do not simply count on their numerical superiority to gain their desires without qualification; they accord to the minority an effective influence. It is in recognition of the observance of these rules that members of the minority are willing to accept the leadership—but never the domination—of the majority.

The unwritten rules which unite the majority group and any minority group are one of the most interesting features of British social life. Observance of these rules is also one of the most potent sources of the strength of the British nation. It gives to British society that looseness which provides so much free scope to dissenting individuals and nonconforming sections, and which foreign observers are so frequently misled into taking as a sign of social disintegration. At the same time it gives to British society that coherence which again and again presents the world with the picture of a surprising unity among the British people.

What can we say about the nature of these rules? We can say that they demand that members of the stronger section of the community should be considerate toward members of weaker sections and that these weaker members should have a real share in the powers and responsibilities of the whole community. The source of this considerateness is frequently described as tolerance. This again is a misleading half-truth. You tolerate that of which you disapprove. The attitude of majorities toward minorities in Britain does not express merely a negative recognition of dissenting opinion or of

nonconforming behavior; it is prompted by a positive appreciation of variety in a community. You will remember Voltaire's famous remark, "I detest your opinions but I shall fight to the last drop of my blood for your right to express those opinions." Tolerance is too negative a word to describe this attitude adequately. "Fair play" or "the rules of the game" are, of course, the terms which readily convey to a British person the substance of this code. If you want to show that the validity of these rules is not limited to English-speaking people nurtured in the British tradition but is important to any human community which wants to move toward a coöperative pattern of life, then the term "social chivalry" will give a clearer idea of what you have in mind.

Now social chivalry, if it is to be an operative principle in society, requires people who are able to act in accordance with its code. It requires people who possess the practical ability to behave according to the rules without being quixotic, and British youth organizations train their members in the acquisition of just the social skill which this code demands. The training is given not so much by precept and special exercise as by example and as an incidental by-product of some other activity. The rules are not explicitly explained and argued, but they are passed on as self-evident truths. It is under the influence of these rules that British young people gradually learn the self-discipline which is essential in a civilized community, and it is by living and playing in an atmosphere conditioned by these rules that they learn unconsciously to cultivate the spirit of fellowship.

The group work done within a youth organization must also be seen in the broader context of a community where there are many youth organizations, each representing the views and ideals of a different section of the community. Good club work can disrupt a society badly if it is not accompanied by equally good community work. That may sound startling, but it is an important consideration in view of the situation on the Continent. I can, for instance, well imagine a drive for youth club work in Austria after the war. If that drive were successful, the clubs might easily be organized along lines which would do more harm than good, unless careful attention were paid to the cultivation of a healthy community across all sectional differences. Otherwise the groups might easily fall into three categories: Roman Catholic clubs, socialist-Marxist clubs, and liberal-Protestant clubs. The better work the club leaders did, the closer they would integrate each of the three sections into which the Austrian population falls ideologically. The rifts would become

deeper and wider, and the very excellence of the club work would be responsible for the disruption of the local community.

How are you to avoid the danger of disrupting a community by operating sectional organizations? Here again British youth organizations have found a way toward a fellowship which extends beyond the individual youth club or particular national organization, which does not impair the integrity and special character of any organization based on a particular faith or principle. This growth of a wider fellowship between British youth organizations is one of the most remarkable social developments of the last generation. I have in mind the development which led to the formation of juvenile organizations committees, service of youth committees, and the Standing Conference of National Juvenile Organizations. Such bodies meet today because they are anxious to develop, in a practical way, that sense of fellowship which is an integral part of the gospel of each movement, however much they may differ in other respects. All these institutions are part of Britain's social culture, a most precious part of the British people's heritage, for it is in this field that their creative genius has produced the most outstanding achievements and the most distinctive contributions which Britain has to offer to civilization. The value of such a pattern for the building of a new society on the Continent cannot be over-emphasized.

If other nations wish to share the benefits of the great achievements which the British people have attained in this field, they can learn from the British youth organizations. They must seek to give to their boys and girls an education for good fellowship somewhat similar to that which British boys and girls receive. If other nations want to develop their society away from a combative society, away from a uniform society, toward a society which is both varied and coöperative, they should make use of the experience of British youth groups. They should study the methods by which British boys and girls learn to practice good fellowship. They should seek to apply these methods in their own country—properly modified and adjusted to the prevailing conditions.

The religious and intellectual approach to the problems of international coöperation will attract only a small proportion of the people who are sincerely concerned with these problems. Is there no other way in which ordinary people can contribute their share in the struggle for lasting peace? Is it only during a war that the energies of every person can be fully used for a common purpose?

First, you cannot teach the art of fellowship unless you practice

it at the same time. Moreover, it is essential for any true fellowship that there should be a mutual give and take between all parties concerned. British youth organizations recognize that if they want to help Continental youth organizations, they must, first of all, cultivate true fellowship with them. Otherwise, these precepts will remain meaningless to Continental people, who will merely resent attempts to teach them how they should educate their children and how they should develop proper relationships within their society.

Secondly, it is a truth, which is accepted in Britain, that the measure to which British people will succeed in giving to the Continent something of their own experience in youth work will depend above all on the measure to which they succeed in taking what the Continent has to give in the same field. Some people find it more difficult to take than to give, but the gifts of such people lack something that is very important if the gift is to be of help in the cultivation of satisfactory relations. What is true of individuals is true of nations in this respect, and if future representatives of youth organizations want to help in building a better world after this war, perhaps one of their most difficult tasks will be to learn to take from Continental youth organizations what they can offer in order to be able to give in return.

The British youth groups can learn from the Continent something about the meaning of suffering. Continental youth and those men and women who have been responsible for young people on the Continent during the past few years have undergone a martyrdom which nobody can visualize even approximately who has not talked with those mothers and fathers, priests and clergymen, teachers and youth leaders, and shared with them the horror of seeing the souls and minds of the children they loved turned away from God and from what is good in man to the devil and to what is evil in man. Some of that suffering has borne fruits which may be counted among the most precious possessions of our generation.

Those of us who have been spared the horrors of being ruled by the evil men who today dominate such a large part of the Continent have an opportunity to obtain a share of those precious fruits, but only if we are humble in our approach to those who have paid for them by their suffering. If we are humble, if we recognize, not as a mere figure of speech, but truthfully, that by sharing with us the intellectual, moral, and spiritual fruits of their martyrdom, these men and women are giving us something for which we cannot pay in terms of material relief and social skill, then we shall be able to

build fellowship across the Atlantic and the Channel and across all national divisions in Europe, and we shall have the happiness of finding that what we have to offer will be gladly accepted and will be put to good account.

WAR PROGRAMS OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

Summary of Papers by
ROBERT E. BONDY, PHILIP E. RYAN,
and JAMES T. NICHOLSON

THE SUCCESSFUL COMPLETION of the third Red Cross war fund campaign with over \$213,000,000 subscribed assures for another year that the Red Cross literally will be "at his side" wherever the man in service may be throughout the world, and wherever his family may be. The Home Service workers serving the man's family at home team up with the field directors, the hospital workers, the camp and hospital council workers, and the club and clubmobile workers to complete a world-wide service. At all times the Red Cross field directors serve as links, of which there are 3,398, between the serviceman and his family, whether the man is at camp, at a port of embarkation or debarkation, or in a combat unit.

The Red Cross hospital worker, in each of the 687 domestic and overseas hospitals of the Army and Navy, on hospital ships and hospital trains, is concerned with personal and family problems, social and psychiatric histories for medical diagnosis and treatment, and recreational activities. When the man is discharged because of a physical disability, the worker assists him in the difficult problems of readjustment to community life. There are 3,770 Red Cross hospital workers on duty.

The camp and hospital council worker makes it possible for many community organizations to participate in these programs in the camps and hospitals by providing materials, equipment, and the services of volunteers. In 180 camp and hospital councils, with 1,962 chapters participating, these workers become, in effect, directors of procurement of the equipment and services that supplement the activities of the professional staff.

There are some 530 Red Cross clubs located overseas. To them,

the serviceman goes, as to the living-room in his home, when he is off duty. There he finds snack bar, restaurant, lodging facilities, reading rooms, and game rooms, and a friendly American man or woman who is eager to see the baby's picture, or to talk of swing music, or to arrange for home hospitality or for a sightseeing tour.

The clubmobile worker may be in New Guinea, Assam, Italy, England, or on some far-off air strip, serving the traditional doughnuts and coffee, or a cool drink before the mission leaves and after it returns.

The Home Service has already been in touch with 4,000,000 families of men in service. The department's worker in each local Red Cross chapter is acquainted with the services of other organizations and tells the man and his family of the government and community resources that are available to them. She works in such specialized fields as the information service, which acquaints the serviceman with the government benefits to which he is entitled; the claims service, which assists the man in filing a claim, securing evidence, and prosecuting his claim before the Veterans Administration; and the communication service, which provides the means for the family back home and the man in the camp or hospital to keep in communication in times of emergency. What could have been more vital to the Army major who walked into the Red Cross field director's tent on Kwajalein Island, concerned because he had no news of the baby that was to have been born four weeks previous, than to find through that Red Cross field director and the Home Service worker at home means of receiving the good news?

The Home Service worker provides commanding officers and medical officers with reports on the home conditions of their men and with social histories as the bases for considering furloughs, discharges, and medical diagnoses and treatment. The worker also offers to servicemen, ex-servicemen, and their dependents consultation and guidance in personal and family problems.

Financial assistance to servicemen, disabled ex-servicemen and their dependents, and the dependents of deceased servicemen is given on the basis of need and within certain limitations. The gist of the policy is that Home Service will provide financial assistance for basic maintenance during the temporary period pending the first receipt of family allowances, allotments, officers' pay, or Federal disability or death pensions or compensation to which servicemen may be entitled, and during periods when payments are delayed or interrupted. The obligation to provide financial assistance will terminate upon the first unfavorable adjudication. Special and non-

recurring needs, such as hospital care, will be met during the temporary period either through referral to other agencies or by Home Service. At other times, such needs will generally be met through referral, though if Home Service funds are available, they may be used.

In interagency relationships coöperative agreements for the mutual use of specialized services are sought, and Red Cross specialized services are made available. In cases currently active with other agencies, local agreements will govern, though the Red Cross considers itself responsible for care during the temporary period if the other agency does not wish to continue financial assistance. Generally speaking, Red Cross service relates to problems arising from the fact that the man is in the service, and it will not undertake responsibility for continuing aid called upon because of needs already present in the family.

Winning the war is the primary job of everyone. It is our first concern, but without deviating from that we must at the same time plan for demobilization, which, on the basis of two more years of war, will involve about fifteen million men, including the able-bodied and those who will be hospitalized. It now appears that full demobilization will require about one and a half to two years, and it may be 1948 or 1950 before demobilization is complete.

The Red Cross program provides for continued service to the disabled veteran in matters of information service, in service on claims and benefits, consultation and guidance, and financial assistance during the temporary period until he receives government benefits, or until there should be an unfavorable adjudication.

There will, however, be many more able-bodied veterans than disabled. Red Cross services to them will include information service and assistance in applying for such benefits as mustering-out pay, retraining or education, housing and employment. It will include consultation and guidance on those immediate problems arising from service, but mainly on a referral basis when continued service is indicated. Other community agencies, therefore, must be prepared for those longer time services that the able-bodied veteran requires, including financial assistance. Red Cross Home Service does not provide financial assistance to the able-bodied veteran. That is a community responsibility and a responsibility that must soon be faced so that adequate provision will be made.

In the vast problems of demobilization, several aspects of community coöperation appear:

1. There is need for a clear definition of programs and services of the various government and private agencies.

2. There must be a clear and definite working understanding among the several community agencies regarding service, referral policies, and agency functions.

3. There should be an active campaign by the agencies concerned to secure public understanding of these services and working arrangements.

4. Joint planning in communities, in the states, and in the nation is a prerequisite for an adequate veterans' service. I know of no better way to assure that than through the local council of social agencies throughout the nation. Almost invariably, the councils include representatives of the public and private social agencies that are concerned in this service.

5. There should be information and referral centers for veterans and discharged or dislocated war workers with a staff that represents all the participating agencies. The centers should operate under a policy of noninterference with, and nonduplication of, agency programs.

6. The representative community committee on service to veterans must plan to meet unfilled needs. For example, there is, in most communities, an inadequate mental hygiene service. Financial assistance to the able-bodied veteran, too, will call for careful local and national planning.

Clearly, the long period of war and demobilization calls for the full and coöperative use of all community resources. The Red Cross will stand by the man until he is discharged. It will assist the disabled veteran until he receives his government benefit payments, or until there should be an unfavorable adjudication. But the entire community must join in planning common community services and in providing care for the able-bodied veteran and the millions of displaced war workers.

In normal times American Red Cross relief abroad is, for the most part, limited to assistance extended to other Red Cross societies in great national calamities. In time of war the relief program abroad is divided into two major parts: relief to American and allied prisoners of war in enemy hands; and relief to the civilian populations in war-affected nations. The prisoners of war relief program was inaugurated in January, 1941, and involves assistance, not only to American prisoners of war and civilian internees held by the enemy in Europe and the Far East, but also to British, French, Polish, Yugoslav, Belgian, Greek, Norwegian, and some

Russian prisoners of war. Relief valued at \$58,000,000 has been sent to war prisoners through the American Red Cross. Common to both programs are the problems of supply, transportation, distribution, and supervision, but these problems vary according to the countries involved and to the rapidly changing circumstances as the war progresses.

The program of relief to prisoners of war is made possible because of the existence of an international agreement, the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention, presented to the governments of the world by delegates of forty-seven countries assembled at Geneva in 1929. The Convention has been ratified by most of the belligerents in the present war except Russia, who did not participate in the 1929 conference, and Japan.

The Convention establishes certain standards relating to the provision of food, clothing, medical care, and lodging for prisoners of war. Provision is made for neutral representatives to visit the camps, talk to the men in private, and submit reports on their treatment. Facilities for the exchange of correspondence with relatives at home are provided, and prisoners are to be allowed to receive packages. Mail directed to prisoners of war goes free of charge in the countries of origin, transmission, and destination. Provision is also made for the exchange of information about prisoners through information bureaus in each belligerent country and through a central information bureau in a neutral country.

In the United States the central information bureau for prisoners of war is maintained by the Office of the Provost Marshal General of the War Department. Upon the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, the International Red Cross Committee established a central agency for prisoners of war, and through this agency lists of prisoners are exchanged by the belligerents. For example, the name of captured aviators forced down over German territory are transmitted by the German authorities to the central agency and are then cabled to the War Department. The families are notified through military channels. In like manner, the American authorities have transmitted to Germany and Japan the names of German and Japanese prisoners of war and civilian internees who are held by the United States. There have been extensive delays in the receipt of names of Americans captured by the Japanese, but apparently most of the Americans held by them have now been reported.

Every American prisoner in Europe receives one eleven-pound food package every week to supplement the fare provided by the Germans. Our goal is the same for the prisoners in the Far East,

but the Japanese have consistently refused the many proposals to accomplish that purpose. Volunteers in Red Cross packaging centers work on regular assembly-line shifts to turn out these standard packages. The boxes contain food developed by the nutrition experts of the Army, the Navy, and the Red Cross, designed to get the greatest possible food value in the least amount of space. The packages also contain soap and cigarettes. Traveling across the Atlantic in Red Cross safe-conduct ships to Marseille, by French railways to Switzerland, by German transportation to the camps, and through the hands of camp leaders to the prisoners, to bring them comfort and strength from home, these packages typify the relief program for prisoners that is made possible through the Red Cross under the Geneva Prisoners of War Treaty.

More than thirteen million standard and invalid food packages have been sent under this program, but the relief has not been limited to these packages. More than fifteen thousand tons of clothing and other supplies have been furnished. Standard medical kits have been provided for every hundred prisoners. A "capture parcel" consisting of a suitcase containing essential clothing and comfort articles, as well as simple recreational items, is given to every prisoner as soon as possible after his capture. Cigarettes and toilet articles go forward in bulk. News from home reaches the prisoner in a monthly magazine which is based on material furnished by the editors of *Yank* and printed and delivered by the Red Cross.

The Red Cross serves as the agent of the Army and Navy in delivering food, uniforms, and other articles to captured members of the American forces. The food packages are paid for by the Army and Navy, and usually the clothing and other articles are issued by the Army Quartermaster to the Red Cross for shipment. The medical and dental supplies, tobacco in bulk, and the capture parcels for American prisoners are provided from Red Cross resources. The Red Cross maintains the administrative organization to handle these supplies, including substantial grants to the International Red Cross Committee. The work, however, is not limited to American prisoners, for the Red Cross serves as the agent of Allied governments, of Lend-Lease, and of private relief organizations in sending similar help to Allied prisoners of war. For the most part, funds for food packages and clothing for Allied prisoners are furnished by the various refugee governments or by Lend-Lease on behalf of those governments.

Private relief organizations, such as the Polish War Relief of the United States of America, Inc., Yugoslav Relief Fund of America,

etc., utilizing funds raised through the National War Fund, provide through Red Cross channels medical supplies and comfort articles of various kinds. Funds raised by War Prisoners Aid of the Young Men's Christian Association and by the War Relief Services of the National Catholic Welfare Conference are used to purchase recreational, educational, and religious articles to be shipped through Red Cross channels. This has caused some misunderstanding because some of the funds raised through the National War Fund are used for assistance to prisoners of war, and it has been thought that there must, therefore, be some duplication of effort since the Red Cross is engaged so extensively in relief to prisoners of war. However, there is, in fact, no duplication, for all shipping of relief supplies for prisoners of war is handled by the Red Cross, regardless of the source of the supplies, and it is a coördinated program. The efforts of the Y.M.C.A. and the National Catholic Welfare Conference are confined to recreational, educational, and religious work among prisoners, whereas the major emphasis of the Red Cross is on physical necessities.

The program of relief extended to American and Allied prisoners in Europe is working satisfactorily. Receipts signed by the individual prisoners and receipts signed by the camp leaders, who are selected by the prisoners, are returned through the International Red Cross Committee. Moreover, delegates of the International Red Cross Committee visit the camps regularly and check on the receipt of the supplies. It is clear that the supplies are reaching the prisoners, and there is no evidence of any diversion of any kind.

The situation in the Far East is quite different. The Red Cross has not been able to obtain Japanese agreement to any regular shipment of relief supplies to American prisoners. We have taken advantage of the two sailings of the "Gripsholm" to exchange Americans and Japanese, and on each voyage she has carried as much cargo as possible for American prisoners. These supplies have been delivered in Japan, occupied China, Malaya, Netherlands East Indies, Thailand, and the Philippines. We transferred funds to neutral representatives in Japan and occupied China, and these have been used to provide some further aid to the prisoners. Funds have also been transferred through the Japanese to aid the civilian internees in the camps in the Philippines where, as yet, no neutral delegate has been permitted to observe conditions.

The United States Government and the Red Cross have done everything possible to arrange regular deliveries of relief supplies to prisoners held by Japan. Offer after offer has been made—only

to be rejected by the Japanese. Everything possible has been done. It is hard for the American people to realize that there are some things which money and influence and energy alone cannot accomplish, but in this work we must have the coöperation of the Japanese. Without that, no amount of money, enthusiasm, energy, or influence is going to be successful. It is still our goal to arrange regular shipments to the Far East. Nothing has been left undone to get regular relief to the men held by Japan. Nothing will be left undone to accomplish that purpose.

Now let us look at the civilian relief program of the American Red Cross. Since September, 1939, the Red Cross has arranged for relief valued at \$100,000,000 to be extended to civilian war victims abroad. The program has been paced by the rapidly changing conditions of war. Follow the headlines of the last four and a half years and you have a good outline of American Red Cross civilian relief work. Every new military development has been reflected in the civilian relief operations of the American Red Cross. The existence of a going organization prepared to meet emergency needs made it possible for American assistance to be given to war sufferers without delay. With its sister societies in foreign countries and the International Red Cross Committee and the League of Red Cross Societies, the American Red Cross was prepared for immediate international operations.

The resources which we have utilized to provide this relief are of three major kinds: in the first place, the public has made voluntary contributions to the American Red Cross; secondly, millions of volunteers have been working in our chapters throughout the country, making garments, layettes, surgical dressings, and bandages whose value is beyond ability to estimate; thirdly, supplies have been furnished by the United States Government for distribution to civilian war victims abroad. In all, Congress has appropriated a total of \$85,000,000 for relief to men, women, and children who have been left homeless or destitute due to hostilities or invasion, and has specified that these supplies, purchased in this country, should be distributed abroad by the American Red Cross or by such other agencies as the President might designate. It should be stressed that we have not received funds from Congress for relief purposes; rather, we have served as the agent of the government in the distribution of supplies. We have used these government-purchased supplies in nearly all our relief operations overseas.

We have followed the definite policy of using existing organizations in a foreign country as the channel of distribution of relief,

thus avoiding the waste and duplication of setting up a competing organization. This has also made it possible to carry on with an extremely small staff a distribution job involving \$100,000,000 worth of relief in over forty different parts of the world. At no time have we had more than seventy civilian relief workers overseas supervising and observing the distribution of supplies. Among the other policies which govern our foreign relief operations, mention should be made of the following: (1) our assistance is, for the most part, limited to the provision of supplies not available in the foreign country; (2) we have followed the consistent policy of granting only such assistance as is requested from abroad, to meet needs verified by reliable representatives in the area; (3) in general, our supplies are for distribution to the entire civilian population within the area, without discrimination of any kind, although in certain areas the program has been limited to the provision of supplementary assistance for refugees because the resident population was not suffering from war-caused distress; and (4) we do not assume the basic responsibility for the care of civilian populations or refugees, but merely supplement the efforts of the governments which are responsible for the provision of the basic necessities of life for such people.

At the present time, the major efforts of the American Red Cross are directed to operations in China, Russia, enemy-occupied territories, and liberated Italy and Sicily. In the enemy-occupied territories relief is limited to medical supplies, which we are now sending to France, Poland, Norway, Belgium, the Netherlands, Yugoslavia, the Baltic States, and Greece.

In Sicily and Italy the Red Cross relief workers are assisting the Allied Military Government and the Allied Control Commission in meeting the needs of the civilian population. This work is principally organizational, in locating and assisting the indigenous agencies so that they may do effective work. The furnishing of supplies is the responsibility of the military, although at their request we have supplied and are distributing through Italian agencies chapter-produced garments worth \$6,000,000 to meet emergency needs.

Red Cross representatives in the forward areas are assisting the AMG officers in arranging for emergency assistance to the local population. The Red Cross personnel are assigned to the regional AMG and ACC units where the work has consisted of organizing local committees to take responsibility for the distribution of relief supplies, and generally developing acceptable welfare programs by

the Italian agencies for the Italian people. The Red Cross is there at the invitation of the military, and our personnel constitute a uniformed, disciplined, and experienced unit assisting in the discharge of what is recognized by all as a military responsibility in a military area. Whenever the commander invites in the civilian agencies of government, and the area ceases to be a theater of emergency military operations, the position of the Red Cross in relation to civilian relief will have to be redefined.

There is no definite agreement between the American Red Cross and the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. The task of rehabilitation in Europe alone is so tremendous that it can be met only by the combined efforts of governments. We recognize the necessity for governmental coördination of relief efforts in the liberated areas. The need is so great and the resources of supplies and personnel so limited in comparison to the needs, that uncoördinated, independent relief programs cannot be afforded. If we can assist in any way in the immense job which must be done, we stand ready to do so.

In addition to its services with the armed forces and its extensive relief operations abroad, other activities of the American Red Cross are closely related to the war: the blood donor program, through which the American people have donated millions of pints of blood which is processed into blood plasma for sick and wounded soldiers and sailors; the recruitment of qualified nurses for the armed forces; educational and health services in the fields of home nursing, nutrition, first aid, water safety, and accident prevention; training for service through Volunteer Special Services; and the maintenance of a disaster preparedness organization for the relief and rehabilitation of those who are victims of disasters.

Although most of its services have been to the armed forces, the American Red Cross ever since Pearl Harbor has continued the work of relief and rehabilitation among civilian victims in disaster-stricken areas. Moreover, as a resource readily usable in the event of enemy attack, this organization has been geared to assist local emergency defense councils in such civilian aid as might be needed. In this, as in most Red Cross activities, the volunteer has played a big part.

In the golden book of achievement many pages will be devoted to the Red Cross volunteer. No printed or spoken word can adequately express the spirit which has prompted those accomplishments that have contributed so much to the preservation of what we call the American way of life. Nurses' aides and dietitians' aides working in

military and civilian hospitals have helped alleviate the pressing shortage of professional workers. Members of the Hospital and Recreation Corps (including the much-beloved "Gray Ladies") and the Arts and Skills Corps devote many hours to sick and wounded servicemen in the hospitals. Nearly a billion surgical dressings have been produced for military and civilian needs by Red Cross volunteers in the Production Corps, working in churches, clubs, workrooms, and in their homes. They have produced millions of garments for the armed forces and for war sufferers abroad. Staff assistants, volunteer Home Service workers, canteen workers, and members of the Motor Corps—all of them make a distinct contribution to practically every Red Cross activity and to many military and community activities. The volunteers in the Volunteer Special Services corps are not only engaging in war-related activities, but they are also being prepared to render important community services.

No summary would be complete without a tribute to the work of the American Junior Red Cross—the Red Cross in the schools and the junior membership of the organization. Its membership numbers nearly eighteen million boys and girls who participate in all activities of the Red Cross that are appropriate to their ages, aptitudes, interests, and program. They have worked in their schools and in the chapters under the guidance of adults and have produced millions of articles for the amusement and comfort of the armed forces and for the international relief program, have shared in community defense work, and have contributed, from their limited allowances and earnings, to the National Children's Fund and to the war fund campaigns.

WORLD-WIDE SERVICE FOR AMERICAN MERCHANT SEAMEN

By *DOUGLAS P. FALCONER*, with Sections
from Papers by *CLIFFORD D. MOORE, M.D.*,
and *BERTHA C. REYNOLDS*

USUALLY when a need arises in a community, several persons who are impressed with the necessity for doing something about it get together and form an agency to fill the need. The work results from a mutual interest and concerted action by a few like-minded people.

In the case of the United Seamen's Service, a precedent was set. Its establishment was due to the combined efforts of such diverse interests as the government, ship operators, shipbuilders, and the maritime unions that sought to provide for the basic human needs of merchant seamen wherever ships flying the American flag might bring them. In spite of previous conflicts, these interests acted co-operatively in this instance. Each element subscribed to the obvious fact that establishment of an agency of this character for the merchant seamen who had been fighting the war along with the other services was long overdue.

In 1942, losses of American merchant seamen amounted to 3.8 percent of the total merchant marine power. Of our traditional fighting forces, only three eighths of one percent of the total manpower were lost. Thus the casualty rate among merchant seamen was more than 400 percent higher than that of the Army, the Navy, and the Marine Corps combined. These are official figures issued by the Office of War Information.

Until the U.S.S. was established in September, 1942, merchant seamen were "stepchildren" of the war. When their ships returned after delivering essential war material, the men landed in war-swollen ports. There, no matter how much money they had in their pockets, they were usually unable to find overnight accommodations. Some even had to sleep in hallways and noisome flophouses. The

recreational services open to uniformed men were not available to them because they wore no uniforms. One of the ways by which they might relieve the nerve-wracking effect of the tension under which they worked at sea was to frequent the waterfront dives. In the midst of an urgent necessity to man the hundreds of ships coming off the ways, there was the danger of ebbing morale among the seamen, and neglect of their needs threatened to interrupt the flow of supplies so vital to victory.

In coöperation with the War Shipping Administration, the U.S.S. went into action immediately. Today there are 115 facilities at home and overseas serving merchant seamen. As of June 1, 1944, registrations upon the books of these units totaled 1,634,821. With the American merchant marine personnel numbering 150,000, that figure indicates more than ten visits per man.

To finance the new organization, various ship operators and builders, the seamen themselves through their unions and a few public-spirited citizens gave generously. By March 1, 1943, a total of \$2,225,000 had been raised. The fund-raising campaign was suspended when the U.S.S. became a participant in the National War Fund, which had been organized so that a single intensive drive for funds could be made for sixteen war-related organizations approved by the President's War Relief Control Board. The quota set by the National War Fund for the U.S.S. in 1944 is \$4,000,000. If, because of conditions overseas or because of any unforeseen emergency, our requirements should exceed this sum, we may apply to the Fund for an adjustment which will permit our budget to cover the increased costs.

All U.S.S. undertakings, financial or otherwise, are controlled by the Executive Committee of the organization. This body—a truly democratic one—meets twice a month at the home office in New York City. Seated around the table are heads of shipbuilders' and ship operators' organizations, maritime union leaders, and ranking representatives of the War Shipping Administration and of the United States Public Health Service.

The problems confronting the U.S.S. from the very beginning of its career were manifold, and they had to be solved almost overnight. The recruiting of skilled personnel, the training of inexperienced workers, the administration, both of domestic and of overseas units—all these called for quick action, farsighted planning, and often ruthless charging through barriers. To many of these problems we had no ready answers. Unlike the Young Men's Christian Association, the Salvation Army, and other social or religious agencies

whose experience included work in international fields, we had no roads already mapped, and we had to trust to our good judgment. It was perhaps the first time in the history of social work that a private organization had to function on a truly global basis.

The nature of our work adds to the complexity of our problems. Local conditions and mores differ widely in San Francisco and Mobile. Nor are those encountered in Gourock, Scotland, Basra on the Persian Gulf, Rio de Janeiro in Brazil—to mention but a few of the far-flung ports where the U.S.S. has facilities for American seamen—much alike in any way. We have had to take into consideration differences of culture and civilization and realistically adapt our facilities to them. This task has sometimes been extremely difficult because we tried to employ professional social workers from each community to develop and interpret the program.

The U.S.S. is in many ways a unique agency. For one thing, it combines in its functions more different types of service—medical, residential, welfare, recreational, entertainment, and aid to prisoners of war and to families of seamen—than are included in any other war-related agency. These services are all spliced into one strong, yet flexible, life line that circles the globe. Wherever our merchant seamen may sail, whatever port they enter, this life line is out for them. Today the port may be Milne Bay or Naples. Tomorrow it may be Cherbourg, Marseille, or Rotterdam, Hong Kong, Shanghai, or Manila.

We have set a high standard for each of these services. Other nations, perhaps, have been longer in the field with a great number of clubs for their merchant seamen, but none of these can claim to approach the U.S.S. in completeness, technical efficiency, and multiplicity of services.

First on the list of the services of the U.S.S. is that which embraces the health problems of the merchant seaman. For a more detailed report on the medical program, I quote from a paper by Clifford D. Moore, M.D., Surgeon (R), United States Public Health Service and executive officer of the WSA and the U.S.S., which was delivered at the National Conference of Social Work.

Since 1798 the American merchant seaman has been a beneficiary of the United States Public Health Service, receiving his medical care at marine hospitals and Public Health Service relief stations and clinics. In the early days of the war it became apparent that existing facilities for the medical care of seamen were inadequate; that, in particular, there was little provision for those who, having

been torpedoed, rescued, and repatriated, were suffering unusual psychological reactions, the result of their traumatic war experiences. Even before the United States was officially at war, its merchant seamen were the victims of sea warfare, and with our involvement, the number of victims of disaster at sea increased rapidly.

To meet this situation a plan for a supplementary medical service was put into operation. This plan was unique in that it was developed jointly by a governmental and a social agency, namely, by the Recruitment and Manning Organization of the War Shipping Administration and by the United Seamen's Service, with its medical officers who were commissioned in the United States Public Health Service.

At the national level the Medical Division has its headquarters in New York City, in close proximity to the national headquarters of the U.S.S. It is directed by Daniel Blain, Senior Surgeon, United States Public Health Service (R), to whom belongs much of the credit for conceiving the plan. He is director of the Medical Division, both for the U.S.S. and for the Recruitment and Manning Organization, and he serves as deputy to the Medical Director of the WSA. Associated with Dr. Blain is an executive officer, a director of health education, and a supervisor of medical social work. In the field are port medical offices, located in twelve principal ports on the East, Gulf, and West coasts. These were organized originally to serve as admission offices for rest centers.

As time has gone on and more seamen have required the type of care provided in rest centers, additional facilities have been set up, so that now there are centers at Oyster Bay, New York; Gladstone, New Jersey; Bay Ridge, Maryland; Pass Christian, Mississippi; Millbrae, California; Santa Monica, California; and at Sands Point, New York.

The unique aspect of this combined program is that its support is shared jointly by the two agencies. The WSA has full administrative responsibility. From the U.S.S. comes a substantial proportion (five eighths) of the cost of operation of all the offices, national and field, and of the rest centers. With the several departments of the U.S.S. Personal Service, in particular, there is close coöperation, with the view of filling, as required, not only the purely medical needs of seamen, but also their general welfare needs.

In recognition of the frequency of occurrence of psychological disorders in the victims of sea warfare, the program has been heavily weighted on the side of the psychiatric approach. The general medical approach, however, is always kept in mind. The phy-

sicians assigned to port medical offices are about equally divided between those trained in general medicine alone and those with specialized training in psychiatry. The doctors assigned to rest centers are, in all instances, psychiatrists. To avoid offending the sensibilities of the seamen, the psychiatric aspects of the program have been played down. Nevertheless, on admission the seaman is informed of the nature of the treatment which he requires and will receive, and his sensitiveness and resistance to being identified as a psychiatric patient are quickly dispelled.

The functions of the Medical Division have been differentiated as follows: repatriation, examination and consultation, treatment, overseas medical care, medical social work, medical studies, health education, sanitary inspection of U.S.S. hotels and clubs, and liaison.

From the first, repatriation has been considered a principal function. All seamen repatriated through Continental ports are met by representatives of the Recruitment and Manning Organization, including a doctor from the port medical office. Opportunity is taken to extend a friendly group welcome to the homecoming seamen, to express appreciation for the important role they are playing in the war effort, and to bring to their attention the medical facilities that are available, the regular United States Public Health Service facilities, and the rest centers.

The men are invited to take their individual medical problems to the physician so that he may examine, advise, and plan treatment. Frequently the seaman at the point of repatriation is not fully aware of his health requirements because of the elation he is experiencing on return to his home port, family, and friends. If he has been involved in a sea disaster, this initial elation may be shortlived, and symptoms of a war neurosis will become apparent to him after a few days. Because he has been informed of the facilities available in the port medical office and the rest centers, the seaman will know where to report for medical attention. Should he present signs and symptoms of acute medical or surgical difficulties, arrangements are made for his immediate admission to a marine hospital.

In the rest center, which is usually located close to the sea, but away from the well-known waterfront, stress is placed on a quiet environment, good food, regular hours, and sufficient sleep. A proper balance of rest and activity is maintained, which both overcomes fatigue and combats boredom and restlessness. The treatment approach to the patient is both by the group and the individual method. The techniques employed are in line with standard psychiatric practice in that complete physical and mental examinations

are made, and a plan of treatment is instituted which is designed, in so far as psychiatric treatment is concerned, not necessarily to deal with the prewar traumatic life experience of the individual, but rather to cope with the immediate disturbance resulting from the recent trauma.

Brief psychotherapy is the aim and essence of the treatment, which in most instances is limited to three weeks. The danger that the men may slip into a chronic neurotic state, and the pressing need for trained, experienced seamen to man the ships of our rapidly expanding merchant fleet, must always be kept in mind. Treatment includes general medical and nursing procedures, a modification of occupational therapy to which has been applied the term "work-recreation," and other methods. There has been a high percentage of prompt returns to sea duty or to related work in the maritime industry.

The patient, before being admitted to the rest center, is interviewed by the medical social worker in the port medical office. Attention is given to his medical, personal, and family problems, to his clothing, and to other immediate necessities. This initial contact with the medical social worker is followed up, both in the rest center and after his discharge. The techniques employed by the social worker are identical with those employed in any medical organization. The worker, interestingly enough, carries the title of "port medical executive." This title was conceived to eliminate from the thinking of the seaman, particularly the old-timer, the idea that he would be the beneficiary of a type of social welfare service which he had resented in the past.

Records are maintained of all contacts with seamen, and a body of information is being built up which sheds much light on the health needs of seamen generally, their special wartime medical needs, and the etiology and methods of treatment of war neuroses. When he has been repatriated after hospitalization overseas, the seaman's medical records, prepared by military and naval medical officers, accompany him. The National Medical Office is the repository for these records, which are available for statistical survey.

The incidence of pulmonary tuberculosis, dental caries, venereal and tropical diseases, deficiency diseases, cardiovascular and rheumatic diseases, psychiatric disorders, and preventable accidents among merchant seamen is of special significance. Statistics so far compiled are not sufficiently complete or accurate to justify a report, but they do indicate trends which warranted the inauguration of compulsory "signing-on" or pre-employment physical examinations

by one of the WSA medical divisions. A compulsory immunization program is also being organized.

The medical plan is concerned, not only with the immediate health needs of the seaman, but with providing health education, which contributes to the preventive aspect of the program. The health standards of seamen have been perhaps as low as those in any other industrial group. The nature of the work, in particular the long periods of time that the men are at sea, is contributory to this low standard. By means of pamphlets, placards, health talks, and movies it is hoped that seamen will become health conscious, not only during the war, but in later years. One noteworthy pamphlet, "Safety for Seamen," has been published, and another, "Keep Well," is nearly ready for distribution. Other publications on specific health subjects are planned.

The sanitary inspections of U.S.S. hotels and clubs is an incidental service but an important one, for the standard of hotel and club service provided by the U.S.S. also contributes to an appreciation of health matters. One can understand this more easily if he has had an opportunity of seeing at first hand the type of lodging that seamen were apt to patronize in prewar days.

Although the medical facilities are located in continental United States, the Medical Division has been responsible, through the WSA, for arranging medical care for seamen overseas. This has been accomplished by obtaining the coöperation of the Army and Navy in treating merchant seamen in their hospitals or near ports where merchant ships put in.

The Personal Service Division of the U.S.S., directed by Charles Nison, not only coöperates with the Medical Division, but helps seamen with a multiplicity of problems. Some of these are described in a paper which was delivered by Bertha C. Reynolds, of the U.S.S. Personal Service Division, at the National Conference of Social Work:

It is both test and fulfillment of the purpose of a war for democracy that there should be nowhere in the world forgotten men. Seamen have traditionally been forgotten in the provisions which communities and government have made for their settled people, or else have been, when they were temporarily stranded, remembered as wards of government or recipients of charity.

Today the men of the Merchant Marine have come to have a large, even a critical importance for the transportation of men and

materials to the war fronts, and they have given their lives freely in the task. If anything can be done to make their service easier and safer and more productive, it is as free men would have it that the service to them should be as of right. Like all healthy human beings seamen want to be valued for what they can contribute, not treated as objects of humanitarian concern. This is the keynote of personal service to seamen.

The U.S.S. now renders personal service in all its 115 facilities on the six continents. In the United States there are twenty personal service units, staffed by professional social workers, which last year gave 70,108 services to 37,404 seamen and families.

The scope of the work is constantly expanding all over the world as the war emergency makes necessary more and more skilled services to seamen. Among the most appealing are services to merchant seamen prisoners of war in Germany and the care of seamen repatriated to this country, including survivors of enemy action. Last year there were 2,545 repatriates whose immediate needs were met on their arrival in port. All these personal services make real to the seamen their country's sense of their worth and the contribution they are making.

Professionally, we find no difference between this personal service and other forms of social work except that instead of being set up to serve one age, sex, or social group or to solve certain kinds of problems, the U.S.S. finds its field in one essential industry. Men are eligible from eighteen to seventy, if they are active seamen, and the Personal Service Division is ready to assist them and their families with any problem they may have. This means acting as a link to community agencies of all sorts as well as giving temporary emergency service directly to seamen.

The word "temporary" leads immediately to one of the characteristics of working with the Merchant Marine—the timing of service to adjust to a moving group. It is a group with some stability, however, in that it is registered and classified for service and supplies with identification papers and endorsements of all sorts. The individuals within it are, potentially, returning to the same ports again and again.

At the moment, however, the time is short in which to ease and speed their continuing sea duty. Active seamen, under wartime shipping regulations, are allowed a shore leave of two days for every week of the previous trip, or a maximum of thirty days. If they make a visit home, they may have only a few days at the port—and perhaps a great worry over some personal problems. If they are

injured or ill, homeless or away from home, the expense of living while they take marine hospital treatment may create serious difficulties. Personal Service can assist temporarily while the man is on shore leave or, if he is disabled, while some plans can be worked out. It does not take the place of community agencies which help families and seamen over long periods of readjustment.

Because many of the difficulties of seamen are economic, the use of a revolving fund for loans is essential. By loan, however, the U.S.S. does not mean what is implied by a business loan, in which repayments are the focus of concern. Neither does it mean what seamen call a "personal loan," whereby a man helps out his buddy with no questions asked. The use of war service funds is an investment in men who are doing an important job to win the war. The social service which is added to the personal loan is a war service in itself, and the workers who give it are there to accomplish the social purpose of building health and morale among essential war workers. The interview with the seaman is a consulting together to see what the situation really is and what will solve it, money being only one of the many resources.

Unlike many social agencies where business through the years has settled down to a routine, U.S.S. Personal Service workers must move quickly. The program has to be adapted to the terrific pace of the war and the continual pressure of the resulting tempo. Interviews must, of necessity, be brief. The judgments of the field worker must be swift and sure. There can be no postponed decisions; no "come back again in a week," for before the week is through the seaman may have sailed again.

Personal Service, in common with every department in the U.S.S., is aimed at winning the war. While action must be quick, it must not be cursory or superficial. The seaman must not be permitted to carry his burden back to sea to add to the load of natural fear and uncertainty that is an impalpable but real part of every ship cargo. He must be free to battle with whatever foe, seen or unseen, he encounters on voyages that sometimes last as long as a year. If the problem involves his own dignity, the vital human factor must be restored. Personal Service recognizes this as an integral part of its job.

In all its dealings with merchant seamen, the U.S.S. has had as a fixed principle the theory that if a man is treated as a first-class citizen, he will probably respond as one. People tend to behave in the way they are expected to behave. By and large, the men who

man our merchant marine are no better and no worse than their compatriots in other branches of the service, or those laboring for the war effort in mine, field, or factory. They have the instincts, hopes, and fears that are common to all men.

In November, 1943, at the Corcoran Art Gallery in Washington, the U.S.S. opened the second annual exhibit of paintings by merchant seamen of the United Nations. Rear Admiral Emory S. Land, War Shipping Administrator, who is also chairman of the Board of Trustees of the U.S.S., on that occasion declared that the pictures shown by the men were striking evidence that merchant seamen are "first-class citizens."

The treatment of seamen as first-class citizens naturally involves the U.S.S. residential and recreational clubs. We have tried in every instance to see that the men are provided with decent accommodations at fair prices. We have also tried to find buildings away from the waterfront and the connotations the waterfront has in the mind of the seaman. To that end, when we sought a club in New York City, we were not averse to accepting the offer of Mrs. Junius Morgan that we occupy the former Dartmouth Club on East 37th Street. The staid members of the Union League Club in the same block were said to be a little dubious as to the possible hell-raising that might ensue when the seamen moved in. Since its opening in October, 1942, this club has registered close to 150,000 seamen. According to all accounts, the seamen have been less rambunctious than their college predecessors used to be.

When we sought a residential club in New York City we did not look for a dilapidated hotel on the Bowery. We took over the Hotel Wilshire on West 58th Street, near Central Park. In this field, also, the U.S.S. is unique; for we are the world's largest operators of an international chain of hotels. We are also the most widely spread agency catering to one sex and one occupational group.

Each residential and recreational club is a miniature League of Nations. Merchant seamen of all races, creeds, and colors mingle in good fellowship. Sometimes whole crews of foreign but friendly vessels descend upon a club. For instance, the crew of a Soviet merchant ship—including two women, one of whom was the ship's doctor—were given the freedom of the U.S.S. club at a gulf port in Texas. They danced and played or sang their native and patriotic songs, and the American seamen returned the compliment. Toasts to our common victory were made. And when the vessel left the port, a representative of the Soviet Consul called to tell the club director how much his compatriots had enjoyed their visit to the

club; how much the fraternal hospitality of their American comrades of the sea had moved them. No souls were saved. No political ideologies were questioned or changed. But in honest fellowship and good-neighborliness, a fine time was had by all.

Important as is the work of the U.S.S. in the domestic field, it is perhaps overseas that its greatest effort as a morale-builder is put forth. At the beginning of 1943 we had only one overseas unit. That was in Glasgow, Scotland. Today, under the Division of Overseas Operations, the U.S.S. maintains forty-two facilities, from the United Kingdom to North and South Africa, the Persian Gulf, India, Australia, New Guinea, the New Hebrides, and the Hawaiian Islands, the Carribean, and Central and South America.

What these overseas clubs mean to the men of the merchant marine, at the end of long and supremely dangerous voyages, has been expressed in hundreds of letters received at headquarters. Often whole crews have signed them. Sometimes the appreciation takes a more material form as in the case of the men at the residential club in Noumea, New Caledonia. After a long, hot voyage it was so good to come in and find cold beer and soft drinks, electric fans, refrigeration, showers, and friendly greetings, magazines, and home newspapers, that the men passed the hat in a spontaneous gesture. They contributed \$230 to the upkeep of the club.

The joy of having ice-cold American beer in the cool U.S.S. club at Khorramshahr, Iran, after sailing through daily temperatures of about 120 degrees, is something that men do not soon forget; especially when the warm local beer sells for three dollars a bottle in the town's unscreened cafes. American meals of ham and eggs, wheatcakes and bacon, apple pie and coffee with cream, all of which are the usual thing in U.S.S. overseas clubs, are tangible parts of America to the seamen in port after hazardous voyages through sub-infested waters.

It has not been necessary for the U.S.S. to make long and involved surveys in order to determine what seamen need. The men we serve are represented on our Board of Trustees and on our Executive Committee at headquarters. In all our units in the United States this means of obtaining an expression from the men themselves has been followed. In the ports in which we operate, port area committees have been set up, and on these committees the government, the shipping industry, representatives of maritime unions, and public-spirited representatives of the community are included. Thus we have guidance from our clientele, which is unique in social work.

The question of postwar rehabilitation is in the air. It may be

asked what the U.S.S. is doing about it. For the moment, we are still too busy developing our program in connection with the emergencies arising from the successful prosecution of the war. In the year that lies before us, the U.S.S. expects to meet increasing demands for its various services. The men of the merchant marine have a great job to do. We who serve them have also a great job to do. We have to match their quiet courage and vital labors by our own unceasing and unstinted service.

THE EXPERIENCE OF THE UNITED SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

*Summary of Papers by RAY JOHNS, MARGARET CREECH,
HEDLEY S. DIMOCK, and LOUIS KRAFT*

DOES THE experience of the United Service Organizations have implications for social work? What can be learned from this experiment of making national resources available where needs are most urgent—from this experiment of collaboration between national organizations?

The USO has utilized established principles and practices in case work, group work, and community organization. Many adaptations have been made. Some new insights have been gained, and some new methods have been developed. New relationships have been necessary; new conditions have been faced.

When war came, communities near camps found their services quite inadequate to the new needs thrust upon them. Leaders in national, voluntary agencies believed that coöperatively planned, jointly administered, yet differentiated services would be possible. After conferences with government officials, the National Jewish Welfare Board, the National Catholic Community Service, the National Travelers Aid Association, the Salvation Army, the National Council of the Young Men's Christian Associations, and the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association formed the USO, and thus began a daring, perhaps hazardous experiment.

Difficult conditions were faced. Pressures to organize quickly in a wide variety of community settings, lack of defined policies and procedures, inexperience and undeveloped relationships with government, between member agencies and with local community groups, inevitably brought about some confusion and complications. Yet in three short years, a widespread service of approximately three thousand operating units in 1,400 communities has been developed in continental United States and the Western Hemisphere. Mobile

units serve small isolated groups. Camp shows go all over the world. A reasonably strong organization, with defined policies and procedures, a well-selected, seasoned personnel, both professional and volunteer, has been developed. A sense of ownership, by members of the armed forces and by local leaders, has been achieved.

One basic principle of USO operation is that national resources are made available where the needs are greatest. The problems are nation-wide as well as local. Therefore, people in all parts of the country have been asked to provide funds; services have been provided wherever needs are most urgent and established services are most inadequate.

National-local relationships are vital. Because of commitments to the Federal Government, and because of necessary relationships with other national organizations, as well as the commitments for providing services which are implicit in national financing, national responsibility had to be permitted and encouraged.

Operating committees, composed of responsible local citizens, help to plan budgets, to select and advise personnel, and to supervise the facilities and services in coöperation with local directors and regional supervisors. Their authority is limited, but increased local responsibility is being developed. USO councils, composed of representative and responsible local leaders, coördinate the USO services and help assure wise planning, operation, and adjustment. National leadership is responsible for outlining over-all plans, for evolving general policies and procedures, for evaluating local experience, and for transmitting suggestions between communities. Progress is being made in fusing the values of national planning and administration with local responsibility.

A second characteristic of the USO is its coöperative, interagency structure. Two plans of local operation are used, known as "single agency" operations and "joint agency" operations. For single agency operations, one agency provides the staff and is responsible with its local committee. In joint agency operations, staff members are appointed by two or more agencies. Unified administration is provided, and the entire staff is responsible to the director, regardless of agency affiliation. One budget cares for all the services. One total program is planned, although provision is made for special services to different racial or religious groups. Between two or more centers in a community, joint planning is effected through the staff conference and the USO Council.

Something new in national agency field service has been developed. To avoid rivalry in certain communities, and to provide

for joint consideration of mutual problems, a monthly regional staff conference was organized. Facts about need in communities where new services are contemplated, and recommendations of local leaders, are reviewed. Joint recommendations for additional or reduced services are made. Problem situations are discussed, and solutions are suggested. An integrated field service has been evolving.

The agencies are represented on the National Board of Directors and on the Executive Committee of the USO. After they collectively establish policies, the agencies are held responsible for operating the service units assigned to them.

A conference of executives, composed of the senior national executives of the six member organizations of the USO, acts as a general staff and reviews over-all budgets and major policies and procedures. Committees on field operations, personnel, program, joint training, and on services for war production workers, for women and girls, and for Negroes recommend policies and review services.

The joint development of policies and procedures is matched by reasonably well-defined and effective administrative services. Certain joint services—mobile and maneuvers services, accounting, purchasing, services outside continental United States—are administered through the central USO organization. Camp Shows, Inc., is operated by a special staff, functioning under a separate board. Budgeting is done jointly. Joint financing is not new, but its use is probably more extensive now than ever before.

A third characteristic of the USO is that working relationships have been developed between people of different religious faiths and racial groups. The USO includes agencies founded by people of the Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant faiths. In the USO, people of different faiths not only concede the validity of another point of view, but they make provision for the expression of points of view not their own. Agency workers have discovered that in a facility for which they are not directly responsible, special resources can be made available for their people. Conversely, in a facility which they manage, they can and do make provision for people of other faiths.

Consideration has been given to the special problems of minority racial groups, and like services are provided for all groups. Inter-racial councils of community leaders and staff conferences of professional workers function quite generally. Where local attitudes require separate facilities, every effort is made to provide equal services for minority groups, even at disproportionate cost.

Another characteristic of the USO is that it is an experiment

in planning and responsibility between privately supported, voluntary agencies and Federal, tax-supported agencies. Representatives of the Office of Community War Services stimulate and guide over-all planning. USO and OCWS representatives study changing community needs and confer about needed adjustments. Federal funds have provided new buildings in many communities; the USO provides operating budgets and staffs, and in many communities rents and renovates facilities. The role of a governmental agency in stimulating and guiding planning and in helping provide facilities, with operating responsibility assumed by local voluntary groups, may have significance for the future meeting of needs where resources are limited.

For years, there has been increased emphasis on relating total resources to over-all needs: The whole person and his total range of experiences and the whole community and its total range of social needs and resources have been increasingly considered. Acceptance of the principles of coöperation, of joint planning, of assignment and acceptance of responsibility, has been growing. Nevertheless, the extensive application of these principles, in close working relationships between different kinds of organizations for different constituencies, both for minority and for majority groups, with national-local, private-public agency divisions of responsibility, is new.

In the case work services in the USO the constituency of groups served and the nature of the service and its location are of primary importance. The war emergency has highlighted certain groups of persons: men and women of the armed forces and their families and friends, war production workers and their families. Characteristic of such groups are their mobility and their migration to strange communities. The problems of these people are largely connected with their mobility or with their lack of familiarity with, or the absence of resources in, the community through which they pass or to which they have come. Their needs must be met quickly or not at all. Quick analysis and prompt action have re-emphasized the value of and extended over larger areas the skills that have come to be known as "short-contact" case work.

Many persons within these war-affected groups have never before had contact with a case work agency—or with any social work agency. The soldier whose emergency arises en route has no thought of himself as in need of the services of a case worker; yet the service given to him may demand the greatest skill of a professional worker. The discharged service man en route or back in his own community meeting conditions with which he has lost sympathy, often emo-

tionally disturbed and his attitudes misunderstood, faces a serious period of adjustment. (Careful agreements between the American Red Cross and the USO have defined fields of responsibility of each.) Much has been said in recent years about the broader application of case work to normally self-supporting persons. Yet at no time has there been so wide a demonstration of this as in the service to this present mobile population.

Since case work services should be easily accessible, USO operations have been taken to the natural points of contact, although bus and railroad stations, USO facilities, troops-in-transit lounges, and housing projects are not traditionally considered the setting of case work agencies. As a result, the soldier who has learned to go to the USO for many kinds of help—recreation, rest, information, housing—does not think of the USO as a social work agency, but as a place where human needs may be met.

The philosophy of a program to meet all needs has implications, too, for the staffs of the USO agencies. For example, when a case worker realizes the therapeutic value of group participation for a person in whose welfare she is interested, the activity is at hand, and the group worker is her colleague. Similarly, the group worker realizes the value of the particular skill of the case worker in dealing with individual problems which come to light in group activities, and again a referral is easily activated.

Many wartime communities have never before experienced the adequate service which may be provided by skilled persons. Problems, if they were recognized at all, were often met on an emotional level or by other methods which contained little of constructive value. Case work, if provided, was usually directly connected with the giving of relief. Will such communities be content with the earlier lack of resources, or will they accept their responsibility to provide for the needs of their people?

There has been in the USO a re-examination of the possible contribution of volunteers and a reorganization of programs to afford participation to a larger number. An attempt has been made to select the volunteers who are best qualified to serve in the particular tasks assigned, and to provide suitable training and supervision. Are there not several implications in this expanded use of volunteers? Will the case work agencies, after the war, take advantage of the experience of these volunteers?

Lags in governmental and industrial provision and the lack of community recognition of responsibility have been pointed out. For example, no one could prophesy what special and individual

problems would arise for people coming to a new territory. Some needed information about where services were available; some needed aid until they received their first pay check in order that they might purchase necessary work clothes or equipment. Some needed medical care. Many adjustments have been made in requirements for advance payment of rent, and changes in pay-roll procedure and in personnel practices in industry have been effected.

Another illustration of a coöperative demonstration is that in relation to the Federal Security Agency's Social Protection Program. Since in certain communities no case workers other than those in the USO Travelers Aid are available, stranded or delinquent girls are often referred to us by the police or by the medical treatment centers, and plans for the adjustment of the girls or the return to their homes are worked out. Although many of these girls are wives, sisters, or daughters of members of the armed forces and so would logically be included in the USO program, the service has largely been in the nature of a demonstration of the value of case work with this group. Accordingly, such case work is now being accepted by some states or by some hospital administrations as their responsibility.

Little claim can be made to development of new theories or new practices. USO experience has, instead, provided a wider extension of less well-developed theories and practices in relation to groups served, to the nature of services, to the location of operations, and to communities. In its group work the USO has, to a large extent, been adapting an existing knowledge and practice rather than creating a new body of knowledge and technique. What is new is the setting, the method of adaptation, and the demonstration of principles and procedures already affirmed on a wider scale or in a more convincing manner.

The learnings of the USO in the field of group work, or more properly, of informal education and recreation, are classified under five headings: the constituency; the basis and kinds of program groups; program content and method; the selection, use, and training of volunteers; and the training and working relationships of professional workers.

1. *The constituency*.—In this area, the learnings of the USO have been chiefly extensions of previous experiences. Yet, paradoxically perhaps, they are learnings that should possess high significance for the agencies of informal education and recreation in the future.

Coeducational activities, for example, there have been since boy

first met girl; yet many youth-serving agencies are built on the principle of segregating the sexes. In the USO the principle, the possibilities, and the practicability of coeducational activities have been demonstrated on a gigantic scale. For agencies to continue, or to revert to, their patterns of sex segregation in the future would be, in the judgment of many, to disregard one of the most important learnings of the wartime recreation experience.

Another closely allied learning which reaffirms and extends previous experience is the assurance that it is possible for the programs of leisure time agencies to attract effectively people from the ages of eighteen to thirty-five. It could be said, of course, that the USO has attracted its millions of people in this age group because of the impoverishment of other resources. This is partly true, but it does not entirely vitiate the fact that through the USO millions of men and women in this age level have had their first experience with recreation and informal education under the direction of voluntary or private agencies.

The USO has provided an imposing demonstration of the fact that it is possible to meet with a fair degree of effectiveness the interests and needs of a heterogeneous constituency, representing a great variety of economic, educational, geographic, religious, and cultural backgrounds. Probably no private youth-serving agency serves so heterogeneous a constituency. This experience suggests that the youth-serving agencies in the future may seriously consider the wisdom of adopting a less selective and more inclusive approach to their constituencies and of dealing with larger social unities from the standpoint of the sexes as well as of economic, nationality, and cultural groups.

Another learning that could have considerable meaning for the future comes from the experience of the Mobile and Maneuver Services of the USO. From the northern point of the coast of Maine, around the Gulf and up the Pacific coast to the Canadian border, mobile units with recreation on wheels have encircled our nation. The circuit riders of pioneer days and the visiting nurses or social workers of more recent days could find their recreational equivalents in the postwar years, if agency leaders have the mind to conceive and the will to organize decentralized recreational resources in American communities that are too small to support either an agency or a professional recreation worker.

2. *The basis and kinds of program groupings.*—Group workers who for more than a decade have advocated the small, cohesive group have been forced to become reconciled to mass events, and

with this has come an awareness that some group work values may be secured even from mass activities. The techniques employed are rooted in a recognition that mass events can be deliberately designed and directed toward meeting the basic needs of individuals, such as the need for novelty and new experience, for self-expression, for acceptance and security, and for a sense of belonging. The techniques have involved the use of small groups in the planning and management of the larger event, whether a dance, an outing, or an entertainment. In normal group work the mass event is supposed to be the outgrowth and expression of many small groups. In the USO experience, the smaller groups are often organized as outgrowths of a large-volume recreational program.

While there has been no conscious attempt to formulate a systematic theory of short-contact group work, the reaction to the transitory nature of the constituency has virtually resulted in such a development on a widespread scale. One device that has been effectively employed is that of using either civilians or permanent members of a military camp or post as a continuous nucleus for a group, while the general membership undergoes rapid turnover.

The USO has been operating a program "cafeteria," with "groups *à la carte*." This variety and flexibility in group participation have been partial compensation for the lack of well-defined groups with a stable, continuous membership. There may be some learnings in this experience for agencies that have tended to stereotype the participation of their members in a single group or type of activity.

3. *Program content and method.*—Several phases of USO program experience carry potential significance for the future. USO workers have learned, for example, more about how to utilize within a common program a wide range of interests and activities, such as photography, arts and crafts, music, and folk dancing. This experience suggests the possible value of more varied and richer programs, especially in those civilian agencies in which cultural interests have been subordinated.

Many USO programs have emphasized the use of the indigenous cultural and geographical resources of the community. The incentive for this emphasis has come partly from the full and free participation in the USO of community residents, leaders, and agencies and in part, also, from the opportunity of acquainting the boys from the Bronx, for instance, with the history and habitat of Arkansas, or the Texas ranger with the Cradle of Liberty in New England.

To a surprising degree the participants in the USO have engaged in the planning and management of the program and have developed a sense of proprietorship in the enterprise. Several factors have operated to bring about this situation. The USO, in a sense, started from scratch. True, its agencies possessed long experience with youth, most of them with youth in other wars, but the USO itself was new. The setting in which it worked was new, and there were enough new elements to encourage new patterns and methods to emerge and develop. The USO was a pioneer breaking new trails and tended, therefore, to foster the pioneering attitudes of flexibility and expectancy. Further, the USO was deliberately designed for, and interpreted as belonging to, the servicemen (or the war production workers). Their wishes, needs, and interests could not be easily pushed aside by conjuring up the concept of "the superior wisdom of the agency."

Consequently, there has frequently been a dynamic interaction between agency and constituency in the USO that has resulted in a synthesis of the vitality, the interests, and the spontaneous expression of participants with the experience, policies, and resources of the established agency. Here is a formula which, if applied to the civilian agency, might break down some of the accumulated customs and traditions that could result in a slow hardening of the institutional arteries and bring new vigor to match the unprecedented needs of youth in the postwar world.

4. *The selection, use, and training of volunteers.*—Its experience with approximately a million volunteers is among the most promising learnings of the whole USO experience. First, there has been a great variety of responsibilities to be carried, with a corresponding variety in the qualifications needed for these duties. Secondly, the specific jobs have been definitely defined so that the volunteer may select the kind of work that matches his or her interests and capacities. Similarly, the training and supervision of volunteers have been carried out on the basis of the specific needs for the specific jobs. A substantial experience is being accumulated in the USO in ways of providing basic training for all volunteers and at the same time providing, both for the specifics of a particular job and for orientation to the history, policies, and organization of a particular USO agency.

5. *The training and working relationships of professional workers.*—There are approximately three thousand professional workers connected with the USO in continental United States. For many communities this represents the first contact with professional lead-

ers in the area of recreation and informal education. That many communities will gladly support professional leadership in the post-war period to meet the continuing needs of youth is already apparent. Whether a sufficiently unified approach on the part of the agencies will be made to meet the needs of the community is an unanswered question.

The experience of the USO in the training of its professional workers carries some important implications for the future, even though what has been done cannot be called professional education in the strict sense. The current training program includes: five weeks of orientation training for all new workers; short institute-workshops for workers who have been in the field six months or more; and refresher courses, two weeks in length, for experienced workers who have been on the job for a year or more. All these enterprises include joint training for workers from all the six agencies and separate sessions for the workers of each agency. The relative roles of joint and of separate agency training have been carefully formulated, and the administration of the total training program is guided by this formulation. In addition, the differential needs of various functional groups, such as the workers in war production communities or the mobile service workers, are recognized and provision for them is made.

This experience may throw some light on the problem that has long bedeviled professional education. Some agency leaders have felt that "generic" professional education did not adequately equip professional workers for the specifics required for a particular agency. The *modus operandi* developed by the USO that definitely recognizes the complementary functions of interagency and separate agency training may prove valuable in permanent professional education.

An understanding of the full import of the community experience of the USO requires a brief analysis of the circumstances under which it has been operating. Two types of USO operations must be kept in mind: those operated under national agency direction; and local, community-conducted operations. With both types of operations, questions basic to sound community organization quickly developed: How would the new services be integrated with established services? How would policies be determined? What would happen to local initiative, to local citizen responsibility? Who would select the leadership? What kind of national control would be exerted over program, expenditures, and professional personnel?

The experience of the USO in relation to local communities can well be examined in relation to the following principles:

1. The needs of a community (and, in the case of the USO, also the needs of the armed forces or the war workers who became a part of the near-by community) should determine the services to be rendered. Therefore, the pertinent facts about a community must be known: facts about its people, its community problems, its community resources.

2. Services should be planned to meet unmet or partially met needs. Duplication or competition should be avoided. Services should be coördinated.

3. Local resources, of facilities, funds, and leadership, should be supplemented, but not supplanted by resources made available from the "outside."

4. The structure of community organization should grow out of the program and process of community planning, rather than precede them.

The communities in which USO services were established varied greatly in size, in the extent and complexity of their new war problems, and in the adequacy of their existing resources. Many of the communities were small. They were almost totally lacking in resources and in even the most simple forms of intergroup organization. Defense recreation committees, or USO councils, or councils of social agencies, if they existed, had only recently been organized. In some of the larger communities, machinery for coördination either was relatively ineffective or existed only in isolated cases. In many larger cities, considerable interagency organization was functioning.

A wide range of problems has been faced in many communities, particularly in the smaller ones. Great influxes of new people have created housing shortages. Transportation facilities have proved inadequate. Health facilities, school facilities, services for transients, for children, and for adolescents, and recreational facilities for servicemen and women and for war workers have needed expansion.

The USO, itself a combination of national organizations with differences in philosophy, religion, and program, developed a plan of operation that utilized these differences. Members of the armed forces include people of different religious faiths, from all sections of the United States. The communities near the camps often had a pattern of social, political, and religious life quite different. What would be the effect on the community, and on its willingness to serve, of the introduction of the pan-religious and national ap-

proach of the USO? Would it reawaken dormant conflicts, or would it help to create better understanding?

In the face of such uncertainties, the experience of three years of service is revealing. No doubt mistakes were made in the approach to some communities. From the beginning, plans were made for developing sound relationships with local communities. Policies were based on recognized principles of community planning and organization. In most cases, a canvass of the local needs was made; the available resources were examined and listed. USO services were then planned to supplement existing effective resources, and a coördination of USO program services with the local service was developed.

Three principal forms of local organization were devised: the USO Council, or board of local citizens; the operating committees for clubs; and the staff conferences, composed of professional workers. The local council began as a group representative, primarily, of the USO agencies in the community, with limited responsibilities for policy making, and has gradually become more representative of the broad community interest in the USO. The establishment of an increasing number of clubs and lounges, operated entirely under local leadership, has further broadened the representation and responsibility of the USO Council.

A system of organization has therefore been developing that extends from the local community, through the state and to the national organization, which in a very large measure reflects the sense of responsibility of the total USO to the American public. In addition, the organization provides for the responsibilities which each of the member organizations has to its own constituencies, locally, regionally, and nationally. This represents a most significant development in community organization. It provides for organization of citizens at every stage, according to a pattern suited to each community and to the requirements of the services, coördinated in a national plan which does not interfere with the basic autonomy of the member organizations.

The integrity of the local community as a community has been respected. The aim has been to assist the agencies and groups that have already been established, rather than to set up competitive forces. The pattern provides for sensitivity to public reaction and attitudes, not by methods from outside the organization, but from the instruments of organization it has itself developed.

Another characteristic of local USO organization bears description. The USO did not usually start with a blueprint for local

organization, and where it attempted to do so, it soon modified its plan. The USO began with a service and a program under professional direction. As the program developed, functions for volunteers became clearer and committees were formed to perform the necessary functions. These committees were then related to USO councils and operating committees. This is, of course, no new principle in community organization; but it has been exemplified and its validity demonstrated to a high degree. Organization has been the expression of a function that has developed naturally and has been accepted by the participants because they themselves recognized the need. Coördination of the various functions has been effected in the USO council, but in so natural a fashion that the members of committees, the volunteers, and the clientele are hardly aware of the system.

The USO has sought to fit into existing patterns of community organization. Where there were councils of social agencies, defense recreation committees, or similar bodies, USO policy provided for various methods of integration through interchange of representation, joint planning, and adaptation of policies. The USO has sought to work coöperatively with other organizations providing services for members of the armed forces and for war workers.

In communities that were lacking in machinery for social welfare planning, the USO made a distinctive contribution through its own machinery of organization and planning, with councils sometimes performing the functions of a community planning body. At no time, however, did the USO set out to become a council of social agencies or to try to perform the functions of community organization in relation to normal civilian needs.

One of the difficult tests of relationships with local communities has come out of the experience in dealing with community tensions. The USO did not create all these tensions. Some of these, long existing in the communities, were highlighted by the war, particularly when there was a large influx of military personnel or war workers. Others were created by the arrival of new residents or military personnel representing economic, cultural, racial, or religious groups different from the composition of the community.

The tensions manifested themselves in attitudes toward various groups—minority religious groups, minority racial groups, non-residents; e.g., soldiers' families, workers in war industries, or military personnel, particularly in communities near permanent military establishments where there has generally been antagonism to those in uniform in peacetime. Sometimes the situations have been serious,

but rarely has the USO found it necessary to withdraw its services. While its basic purpose was to render service to individuals, the USO realized that it could do so best in a friendly and understanding environment. It has not set out to change traditions of long standing or to reform attitudes, but by working with the community, cultivating friendly leadership, and doing its own work conscientiously, the USO has gradually won community confidence and has been able in many instances to ease the tensions. It is difficult to estimate the lasting effect of the experience, but certainly there are evidences of community understanding and coöperation that did not exist before the advent of the USO.

Another characteristic of local USO organization has been the expansion into area, intercommunity organization. It has been found possible to involve several communities in the vicinity of a military establishment in a common program. Sometimes a large city is part of the group, and shares its resources with the smaller communities. These efforts are guided by USO professional personnel, but the degree of effectiveness of such coöperation indicates possibilities of a method of dealing with a problem common to several communities through area, intercommunity organization.

Three types of professional community organization skills have proved especially important in USO services:

1. The ability to come to understand the community is necessary. The ability to get essential facts quickly, while carrying other heavy responsibilities, is a distinct asset.

2. The ability to become accepted in a community is essential. Workers must be able to appreciate a community, its traditions, its values. They must be able to understand its limitations.

3. The ability to work with diverse groups—with volunteers and with professional workers in similar and in different fields of service—is imperative. People of different points of view and of different backgrounds, must, in such service, work together to provide effective service for different groups. They must work together toward desirable community goals.

USO experience has revealed some of the intangible factors of human behavior that become so important in the improvement of community life. There is no doubt that the local citizens who have been engaged in USO work have acquired a greater sensitivity to human needs. They have gained insight into human character, into the enriching value of cultural and social experience, the worthwhileness of working for human betterment. They recognize in the USO a program of value to the community itself.

People have become better neighbors through engaging in the common service of the USO. They have acquired a broader outlook, an identification with a national program and an association with people from other sections of the country. Some have worked for the first time with professionals and have come to value this relationship and to appreciate the worth of a professional worker. These are the intangible effects of the USO on the local people, but it is the aggregate of these reactions and the effect on individuals that creates the attitudes and incentives to work together for one's own community.

More rather than less coöperation is undoubtedly ahead. More joint work must be done between national and local leaders, by workers in different organizations, by public and private agencies, by majority and minority groups.

In wartime, when people know that they must work together, new patterns of joint responsibility may be forged. Whether the "welding" will hold under the cooler conditions of peace will depend on how satisfying the experience of working together has been. It will depend upon our awareness of and our willingness to meet the urgent and widespread, though less dramatic demands of peace. Therein will lie the real test of coöperative planning of united service.

NEEDS FOR SOCIAL CASE WORK AS REVEALED IN GROUPS

By CYNTHIA R. NATHAN

UNLESS ONE has lived in a military environment, it is difficult to appreciate the tremendous importance of the group to persons in the armed forces. It is inspiring merely to become aware of the love the men have for each other, of their willingness to sacrifice for each other, and of the group unity which gradually but surely emerges from working together, eating together, and living together, from sharing the same privileges and restrictions, and from sharing past experiences and the hope of a common future.

At military installations the interdependence of the men is great. Their social needs must be fulfilled by each other, for they are removed from the civilian world in which they had formerly found varying degrees of fulfillment. They are dependent upon each other for their very lives since the success of military maneuvers depends upon teamwork. And so their need for each other, their need to be fortified, sustained, and helped by each other, is immeasurable. Their training is geared for success in combat which requires a strong group identification; for men drive forward in the heat of battle because of loyalty to their leader, love of their comrades, and an urge to help the military unit to which they belong. Hence this group identification must be achieved. Each man must learn to submerge his individuality in the interest of the group, must be ready to carry his own full share of responsibility and feel a responsibility for his buddies.

The process of learning this is complex. At the time of induction, the men are still individuals who merely assemble in groups. Their uniforms, which help to symbolize a new group identification, seem as strange as civilian clothes will seem after years of military service. The men are unknown to each other, but when the group note that one man's ways are even stranger than the Army's, they mock and torment him as cruelly as children torment a maladjusted child. If the soldier later can prove himself to the group, he will become

one of them and they will voluntarily risk their lives for him, and shield him from any who try to mock him, for so strong does the identification become that an attack upon him is also an attack upon them.

The adjustment to military requirements is harder for some than for others, but all inductees experience the struggle of readjustment in some measure. At one reception center, a lad from the Tennessee hills found himself in a unit composed almost entirely of men from Brooklyn. He awoke when the sun arose; the other men were sleepy at reveille. He said "thee" and "thou art," which sounded as peculiar to the other men as "tirty-tird" division did to him. The men laughed when he "shoveled" his food, made him the butt of their jokes, and amused themselves by plaguing him in a variety of ways. But the boy was a basically stable, good-natured, outgoing individual who had felt secure in his large family, and now, in the Army, he showed that he could "take it." It was not long before he and his fellow soldiers learned to appreciate each other, and accepted each other's individual differences and peculiarities as unimportant. It was not long before they became submerged in an attachment to each other which was part of something greater than each of them individually. That something was their group feeling. Once that had developed, the group would not permit an outsider to ridicule the lad from the hills who was now their buddy.

Not everyone is able to adjust to the military group, however, just as not everyone is able to adjust to civilian requirements. One example of this was a man who was scheduled to be discharged from the service for inaptitude. He had been glad to enter the Army because it offered a solution to an intolerable civilian employment situation. After escaping into the Army, just as he might have escaped to another job, he again found himself rejected, this time by the men in his unit. His well-ingrained pattern was to curry favor with superiors, to disregard the feelings of the other men; in answer, the group isolated him. Prolonged and intensive treatment would have been needed to change his pattern of behavior sufficiently to make him capable of becoming an integral part of a group. Hence his discharge from the service became a military necessity. Those who are unable to become an integrated part of the military group must be excluded from it.

The process of exclusion begins with the initial selection of men for the armed forces. Everyone is familiar with the recent selective service provisions for weeding out the unfit. In order to secure pertinent information, a man's former teacher is asked, among other

things, whether her pupil was "accepted, ignored, or disliked" by his classmates, and his former employer is asked concerning the man's adjustment to his associates. Usually, the individual who had difficulty in adjusting to a civilian group is a poor military risk.

In civilian life, when the individual failed to conform to the standards of the group, he could, if he wished, remain in conflict with the group and fight it, attempting to rally about him others whom he might convert to his own mode of behavior. In the armed forces, one cannot fight the group, because it disturbs the morale necessary for fighting the enemy. In a civilian environment, the non-conformist could also choose to leave the group and seek one which would fortify him in his beliefs. In the armed forces, the individual does not select his group, nor can he leave it voluntarily. If conflict arises, it must be resolved in one way alone, by his adjustment to the group in which he is placed. The individual who proves himself incapable of adjusting should, therefore, not be retained in the service.

At an Army replacement training center one soldier developed terrifying nightmares. During the day he sometimes did not hear commands but stared ahead blankly. Admitted to the station hospital for observation, he remained aloof from the other patients. He was suspicious of physician, case worker, and recreation worker alike and rapport was difficult to establish. The social history showed that at the time of induction he was mourning his wife's recent death, and that he was attached to his young daughter and concerned over her welfare. These facts provided a clew for the recreation worker, who stimulated him to occupy himself in making a gift for his daughter. Nevertheless, though this patient made gift after gift, though he came to the hobby shop and to the recreation hall, though he talked with the psychiatrist and the case worker, his socialization with the other patients did not progress, and the decision to discharge him from the service was made. Then, with the terrible fear of imminent death removed, his behavior changed. He joined in group activities, slowly at first, and then with the impetus of a crescendo. After leaving the Army he returned to his restaurant business and made a civilian readjustment without further case work help. This man's degree of recovery was reflected in his freedom to participate in the activities of the patient group.

What a patient does is as clear an indication of his mental status as what he says, and reflects his tensions and anxieties. At the port of embarkation, a serviceman developed "gangplank fever" of such severity that he was placed in the neuropsychiatric ward for observa-

tion. His worry centered in leaving his wife, who had had a difficult pregnancy and was expecting their baby in less than a week. The man sat in the sunroom depressed, morose, and sad, followed the other patients automatically, but left the room whenever a war game was started. This was an atypical reaction, for with patients who have not yet seen overseas service and who are accepted by their buddies, as he was, war games are popular. His depression continued until word came that "mother and baby were doing well." An immediate change was noted, and after a furlough he seemed to be completely recovered. Upon his return he asked the case worker how he could rejoin his own unit, which had already gone overseas, and, furthermore, he asked the recreation worker for new war games to play with the group.

One can learn to know some patients only through interviews; others, only through their group activities; many, through both. When the patients feel secure with each other, they may produce in a group what they are unable to produce in individual contacts. As a means of testing the suspected diagnosis of one patient, the recreation worker had been asked to retain anything he made and to secure his interpretation of the material, if possible. When the group was sketching, he drew a tombstone, a cemetery, a hearse, a wounded man, a skeleton, all death symbols in varying forms. As he talked while he drew, his morbid thoughts of impending and inescapable death came out. His obsession was thus found to be so well formulated as to require treatment on a deep level and of long duration. The suspected diagnosis was confirmed, and it was decided to discharge the man from military service.

Another patient drew happy groups of people and one figure alone, apart, sad, which he said was himself. This patient was not only ready, but anxious for treatment, and was reaching for help in order to become an accepted member of the group.

There is significance, not only in the grouping of the patients during an activity, such as sketching, but in the subject matter which the individual patient chooses. Patients in the orthopedic ward of one station hospital were absorbed in sketching. At one end of the ward a group of patients drew a high, sturdy shoe from a model. Three other patients in the same ward sat apart. One drew a farmhouse needing repairs; another, a pastoral scene. The recreation worker and the case worker understood the significance of the grouping, for they knew that the men in the unified group were paratroopers, drawing the symbol which bound them together and which distinguished them from other groups, namely, their para-

trooper shoe. Their group feeling was well-knit, their morale high, and their desire for further military service intense. All of this was expressed in their activity. They delighted in sketching, modeling, and painting their group symbols—the paratrooper shoe and the emblem of a parachute. The case worker knew that it would be traumatic to any one of these men if, for medical reasons, he were no longer fitted for military service, or for service as a paratrooper. She knew this by observing their group activities and by the attitudes they expressed in individual interviews.

But what of the other three men? They were not paratroopers. Their thoughts were not concentrated on their military group. In a matter of a few weeks they had proven physically incapable of keeping up with their units. In interviews they stated that they never should have been inducted into the Army for physical and therefore socially acceptable reasons. Now they were awaiting discharge from the hospital and from the Army and their thoughts centered on home and peace.

In the neuropsychiatric ward, group activities have been found to be of great value in revealing the content of the individual's thoughts and the area and level on which therapy must be focused. They are of vital importance in the treatment of mental patients who are unable or unwilling to reveal themselves in individual interviews but who find the group situation less threatening and hence less blocking.

On a ward of an army hospital for mental patients, four patients needed tube-feeding. The nurse observed that one of them seemed ready to eat voluntarily. She approached him with food and found that as soon as he ate, the other three, observing him, also ate voluntarily. The group pressure, the desire to conform, is so great that one patient at another mental hospital demanded to see the social worker immediately because all the other patients on his ward were being given "extra nourishment" through the nose, while he was given only the food on his tray. In a group, a patient may also discard his protective shell because he can lose himself in an activity which minimizes his preoccupations. There are many patients whose conversion symptoms disappear in group play. A ball, thrown by another patient in the heat of the game, for instance, is caught with a supposedly paralyzed arm. A "paralyzed" wheel-chair patient, excited over a hotly contested ping-pong game, arises to pick up the ball which has fallen a few feet away from him.

We speak of the teamwork of psychiatrist, case worker, and recreation worker, but the team is not complete if one omits the man's

fellow patients. They know when to rush for the doctor or social worker, they urge the patient to tell the therapist what is tormenting him, and they, ill themselves, help to give their buddies a measure of psychiatric insight.

The group can help, but it can also hinder. It can reject a therapist and make his efforts sterile. This fact has been demonstrated in hospitals where referral for psychiatric consultation stigmatized the patient and negated the benefit derived from the interview. On the other hand, the group's acceptance of the case worker or the psychiatrist can break down the fear that newly admitted patients have of the initial interview.

Group activities may reveal how the group regards those who are treating its members. In playing the game "Who am I?" one patient said, "I am good. I am all understanding. I help people who suffer. I help abnormal people. Who am I?" His description of, and identification with, the psychiatrist was significant, for it revealed the extent to which a positive transference had been made and showed that the psychiatrist was identified in the role of a kind father. The group's feeling toward the psychiatrist was revealed by the readiness with which his identity was guessed. Another patient in playing "Who am I?" repeatedly chose delicate, feminine women for his impersonation. In a typical homosexual panic, thinking that others were making improper advances to him, he could not face his own unconscious thoughts, but had to project them on to others; yet in playing "Who am I?" he could reveal his true feminine identification. Another patient, still anxious for combat duty, was first Eddie Rickenbacker and then General Eisenhower in "Who am I?" Of course, not all the reactions of patients have such obvious significance. Knowledge of the background of the patient helps the case worker to interpret the meaning of the material which emerges from the group situation, which, in turn, can be helpful in determining the direction that treatment must take.

A suddenly changed role in the group is also significant and is easily observed in day-to-day activities. A patient who had usually participated actively in all the ward games one day sat silently, distracted, not caring to play guessing games. The recreation worker told the case worker, who went to his ward. No sooner had the latter entered than she was approached by another patient who requested her to help the patient she wanted to see, because he was worried about an imminent hernia operation. The patient was indeed worried, and the interview disclosed the fact that he had

medical misconceptions concerning the operation's possible effect upon his virility. When this was clarified, both by case worker and physician, and when he had received reassurance from other patients, his anxiety was dissipated. He showed an intellectual acceptance of the nature of the operation in a subsequent interview and an emotional acceptance in joining the group activities once again.

Just as treatment may be hampered by the misconceptions of the individual, so too it can be hampered by the group attitude toward illness, mental or physical, and toward therapy or the therapist. When an explanation of the nature of mental illness is made to a group as a whole, anxiety and resistance are lessened. Patients who had previously whispered to the case worker, "I'm from ward 33," which was a mental ward, and who pretended not to hear if another patient in the recreation hall asked from which ward they came, laughingly said, "I'm one of the nuts from 33," after a series of group discussions on the nature of mental illness had been held by the psychiatrist.

Patients also find help through the group reaction to their problems and have reported that insight into their delusions has sometimes come as a result of testing their ideas against the group. Psychodrama has been of great value because patients in acting out their problems before the group, not only gain emotional release, not only reveal the extent of their problems, but also find help through the group reactions to their problems.

In establishing rapport with the group or with the individual it is vital to know the group interactions, the group attitudes, and the group taboos, for disregard of the taboos can stamp one as an outsider and turn acceptance to resistance.

In the armed forces, men are faced with common problems at induction, at transfer, upon return from overseas, and upon return to civilian life. These problems have appeared on such a mass scale that to meet them at all, the currently accepted method of interviewing patients in private had to be abandoned. Case workers placed in the military setting and compelled to deal with great numbers of men have struggled to uphold the professional standards in which they believed and to which they had been educated. Were we not trained to believe that the success of treatment was dependent upon the privacy of the interview? Has not case work a relationship of individual to individual, an interaction between two people? Did not some of us deny that group contacts could contain the elements of case work because we believed that the need

to respect the individuality and the confidences of the client required person-to-person interviews?

We have, however, not only found that the immediate case work goal, be it orientation or financial assistance, could be met, under certain circumstances, through dealing with a whole group at once, but we have also found that something more was achieved through the group interview. Consequently, we are now finding that an increasing acceptance of the validity and soundness of the group approach is developing in progressive professional circles.

The experiences of Red Cross workers offer numerous examples of group interviewing. A field director, stationed in Greenland, found himself suddenly confronted by 140 men who had just arrived at his post and who were to be shipped to outlying districts within two days. The men had not been paid for three months and were in urgent need of such necessary comforts as shaving cream, razors, and cigarettes. On the post was a well-equipped exchange, such as the men would not find in their new localities, such as they had not had at their former stations. The commanding officer looked to the Red Cross to provide loans for the sake of the health and comfort of the men. The Red Cross field director underwent a real, professional struggle. He had been taught to interview each person alone, regardless of the obvious fact that many who may need the financial assistance that a case worker can offer do not necessarily need deep and intensive case work help, or even a private interview; often all they need is shaving cream. If he were to interview each man alone, he could not hope to meet the needs of all the men, and so the field director decided to see the men in groups of thirty. He explained to each group that he had limited funds, which were allocated for the use of the men at his camp, and he described his revolving fund as an umbrella which could be loaned out when it was raining, with the understanding that if the umbrella were returned after the rain had ceased, it could be later loaned to another person. The loans, varying from five to ten dollars, were then made, each man deciding how much he would need. Thus the immediate objective was met, since the men were able to buy the articles they so greatly needed. Two months later, when he was transferred to another post, the field director reported that all but six of the 140 loans had been repaid, and repaid without the usual follow-up reminders. It is impossible to say with certainty that it was the group method of interpretation which was responsible for the high rate of repayment, but it is a factor which cannot

be ignored, for the men felt a group responsibility for returning the funds so that they could be used by others.

In a typical hospital the workers were suddenly faced with the necessity of helping with discharge plans five times the number of men whom they had previously been able to assist with thoroughness. Each one required a careful and detailed interpretation of entitlement for government benefits, and each needed an opportunity to deal with his feelings about being returned to civilian life. The choice was to give service in the accepted form, to only a part of the group, or to embark on the new method of giving service in groups. When the latter method was attempted, the workers found that the men, accustomed to group living and group discussions and faced with a common problem, had no resistance to learning in groups about the government benefits provided for veterans. The workers found that men who needed and were entitled to such benefits, who desired them, but felt guilty about planning to take advantage of them, had their guilt relieved by the group, which reinforced and supported them.

Patients being discharged because of psychoneurosis found, in discussing their feelings about the prospective return to their home communities, that they shared a common fear of nonacceptance because they had no physical injuries and yet were being discharged from military service. Finding that they had a common problem and a common fear, they were desensitized; their problems became objectified and were therefore more easily solved. Those individuals who needed more time and help on a deeper level were also revealed in the group, and when they realized that theirs was an individual problem, they were often more ready to accept individual case work help.

It was important to note that when the legal aspects of recovering former employment were discussed, the patient who in an individual interview had said casually that he had no re-employment problem began to perspire profusely and that the follow-up revealed that he had been a truck driver but was being discharged from military service because of convulsive seizures. It was helpful to note that the man from the small Southern community whose three brothers were still in service kept referring to the ex-service pin he would be given, asking what it would look like, how large it would be, whether everyone would know what it represented, so that he could be referred before discharge for further help in facing his community.

Again, when convoys of patients from overseas arrive at general

hospitals, the case workers are confronted by hundreds of men, each needing and wanting orientation. It is impossible to deal with so many men satisfactorily on any but a group level. The pressure of numbers compels this, the common problem makes it workable, the ward setting makes it unavoidable, the unity of the patient group makes it desirable. But beyond this, it is often the wish of the patients, who cluster in groups to ask questions of common interest without creating the artificiality of an individual interview.

Case workers who cautiously and skeptically embarked upon the group method of orientation now report that they would not abandon this method if they could, not only because of its obvious advantages as a time saver, but also because it is easier for them to establish themselves with the group and to gain acceptance by meeting with the group. Once the worker is accepted, the resistance of the patients is minimized or disappears completely. There are other advantages also, for the worker finds that, by seeing the entire group, it is easier for him to distinguish which patients need immediate help; areas of tension, too, are more easily revealed in groups. The worker, in meeting with the group, is better able to individualize the patient by the role he assumes; thus the man who sits on the fringe of the group is often revealed as actually being socially on the fringe of the group; the man who is hyperkinetic, the man who cannot bring himself to ask a question, all emerge from the group as individuals.

When we find a patient with low morale we know that he is in need of even greater help if he is in the midst of a high-morale group. If we find a high-morale group whose members have become well adjusted to each other, we know that separation will be difficult. The return to civilian life, for soldiers and sailors who have served together for years, is traumatic because the group unity, the emotional interdependence which had to be created and fostered for reasons of military efficiency and which was a sustaining influence, suddenly is gone. The readjustment is more than a physical readjustment to civilian clothes which now feel peculiar, to the civilian bed which may now feel too soft. The men who are leaving high-morale groups to return to civilian life feel, not only the kind of loss which they experienced when they gave up friends and family upon entry to the armed forces, but also the loss of a sustaining, loving, accepting, helpful group. In many instances this is an irreplaceable loss, because neither the group morale nor the facilities for group expression exist in their home communities. Will they again have opportunities to act in plays and pageants, to edit little

news sheets, to paint and hammer, or to sing and shout in groups? To discuss their hopes and feelings and fears in groups? Or will they have to give up the fulfillment and protection of the group and unlearn the part they played in giving fulfillment and protection to others, with ever more pain and more struggle?

The answer lies partly in the communities themselves, in the group work and case work social agencies, which must marshal their resources so that these men can continue to find expression in group activity. Let us all learn from these men that there is a wonderful spiritual value in group unity, and in learning, be better able to help others to achieve the beauty and ennobling quality which group identification can offer. Let us feel a responsibility to provide communal outlets for group expression for the men and women who are willing to give their lives for each other and for our liberty.

ORGANIZED LABOR IN SOCIAL PLANNING

By ROBERT H. MacRAE

A NEW, dynamic, and occasionally explosive factor has been introduced into the field of social planning as community chests and councils have begun to work closely with the labor movement. The relationship which developed initially as a result of a desire to raise funds for war relief has expanded until it possesses far-reaching possibilities for the future of social work. Further development of this relationship is a problem which is currently consuming much time of representatives both of social work and of organized labor.

Historically, organized labor has been more or less tacitly excluded from participation in planning for social work. It has had little or no place in the governing bodies of chests and councils and has, accordingly, been deprived of a voice in policy making and administration. This historic relationship is understandable enough, for in its origin private social work was largely a matter of effective charity distribution, and fund donors were, primarily, a relatively small humanitarian group of wealthy and influential persons. It is understandable also in terms of labor's attitudes, for some of the more vocal, radically inclined labor groups held to the view that social work was aimed at patching up a rotting social order, and that approval of efforts at amelioration constituted betrayal of the revolutionary labor movement. Labor tended to view private social work as paternalistic charity, while organized social work tended to view unions as parasites on the body politic. Fortunately, alterations have occurred in both conceptions, and coöperative effort for the achievement of common goals is thereby made possible.

Perhaps it is well to recall that organized labor no longer consists of a relatively small group of highly skilled workers, as it did yesterday, but is today organized on a mass, industrial basis with unskilled and semiskilled workers joining its ranks. Moreover, labor has changed its ideological bearings. Labor leadership now recognizes the fact that appeals to workers for solidarity simply to improve

wages, hours, and working conditions are limited even if they are considered only from the viewpoint of political expediency. Workers are becoming more and more aware that even though wages may approach adequacy, the alleviation of personal and group maladjustments are continuing problems in community life, and that lack of planning can have stifling effects on normal living. This allows for coöperation between social work and a typical section of the American public. Thus organized labor now encompasses those strata of society whose members are most affected by social work, and for whom social planning is inevitably most meaningful.

There are at least three principal reasons for enlisting participation on the part of labor:

1. Organized labor has come to be a power in the community, and it is a power to be recognized in more than financial terms. In such terms alone, however, labor is worthy of recognition. Today labor contributes more to chest funds than unorganized workers did yesterday. The contributions of organized labor are somewhat comparable in the total financing program to the role of international trade in the maintenance of domestic prosperity. With these contributions security and stability are maintained; without them, we would have to operate on a depressed and insecure level.

We are familiar with the effectiveness of organized labor's efforts in fund raising. When local unions participate in fund raising, more money is collected than when there is fear of employer coercion. Since labor contributions are viewed as meritorious in social work financing, labor should be represented on the boards which control the disbursement of these funds. Inevitably, the old American principle of government which holds that taxation without representation is tyranny will be applied in social planning. Financial participation without board representation invites disaster.

2. From the viewpoint of social planning, the fact that workers now have a voice is equally important. Labor unions are quite obviously one of the major instrumentalities for the expression of the opinions and sentiments of the mass of the people. We should not delude ourselves into thinking that the vocal power of the labor unions is disproportionate to their actual strength. The power exercised by such groups as the Workers Alliance in their efforts to obtain adequate relief during the depression suffers by comparison with the pressures which experienced labor groups now can develop in the combined areas of social work and planning. Social work is faced, therefore, not with some vague, nebulous force, but with a concrete, easily discernible reality.

Labor leadership is more closely bound to its constituency than is virtually any other form of leadership. Labor representation on boards is thus more likely to bring social planning closer to the needs of those sections of the population for which social work is of benefit than is any other group which has board representation. In this way, then, social planning moves in the direction of relating community resources to needs, and toward greater social democracy.

The United States, judged by world standards, has achieved considerable political democracy. The rise of labor unions, however, indicates the need for greater economic democracy, and, assuming that such distinct areas exist, participation by organized labor in social planning implies a further extension of social democracy. The essence of democracy is equalitarian participation, and participation in social planning will aid in breaking down some of the isolationism which heretofore has afflicted social work. There is obvious need, then, to disseminate knowledge of social agency services, and to enlist the strength of organized labor for program planning.

3. At many points organized labor and social work share identical interests. Progressive social work has consistently labored for the enactment of legislation which would provide greater security for the masses of people. While we have frequently been accused of being more concerned with palliatives than with fundamental corrections of social evils, our progressive leadership has consistently held to the goal of bringing about a greater degree of security through changes in the social structure. The improvement of health standards, better housing, wholesome and creative recreational opportunities, development of social insurance, introduction of health and safety devices in industrial employment, and adequate protection of childhood from exploitation—all of these have been areas in which progressive social work has provided leadership throughout the years. These are the same areas in which organized labor has given effective voice in demands for greater opportunities and greater security for all our people.

Organized labor is in a position to exercise tremendous influence, speaking as it does for millions of men and women. A united effort, by which the technical knowledge and skills of social work are combined with the powerful demands of labor, would make possible significant and impressive advances in the field of social action.

Let us consider now how the participation of organized labor in social planning can be achieved.

Theoretically, one can blueprint a program which is so broad

that it will fit any community. This already has been done in the memorandum entitled "A Joint Suggestion for Labor Participation in Domestic Social Welfare and Health Work," issued by a subcommittee of the Advisory Committee on Health and Welfare Planning of Community Chests and Councils, Inc. The report suggested that a Labor Participation Committee, on which there was strong representation from organized labor as well as community representation, be formed on a local level within the council of social agencies. Such a committee would obviate the need for "piecemeal consultation," would afford expression for labor's viewpoint, and would form a basis for action. In projected functions the committee would be expected to provide a bridge between agencies and unions in matters of program, new services, personnel, meetings, education, releases in the labor press, referral, and other areas of integration.

Nationally, the coordination of local experience for planning would involve the formation of a National Advisory Committee which would serve in a consultative capacity, disseminate information, and aid in the training of labor. The committee members would, of course, need to be oriented, community organization specialists who have the confidence of labor. How such local and national committees will function when actually instituted remains to be seen. From a practical viewpoint, the question has been partly answered by the experience of the Detroit Council and Chest.

During the middle years of the depression, requests from labor for representation on the Fund Board of the Detroit Council were not accepted, perhaps because it was felt that to do so would jeopardize established relationships with other financially powerful groups. The acute character of the depression needs finally led, in 1937, to the establishment of an industrial program in the Council, by means of which social services were interpreted to industrialists and to plant managers. Since so few men were working, however, this emphasis was soon changed, and a social worker from the local private family agency, which was related to the Council, was assigned to deal directly with clients through such agencies as the newly created welfare office of the United Automobile Workers.

In 1938 the director of the U.A.W. welfare office was appointed to a Council budget review committee and in 1940, to the board of the Council of Social Agencies. A year later the Community Fund Board accepted the appointment to its membership of a representative of the American Federation of Labor and one from the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

In 1941 formal approval was given by the Council executive for exploration of the possibilities of developing a functional field for services to labor. The new unions, if not yet regarded by the community as "respectable," were certainly recognized as "powerful," a factor which was undoubtedly involved in the development of this "labor assignment."

The labor assignment involved several related areas of activity. The first was that of conferring with influential and strategically placed union leaders who discussed union-related social work problems. A second job involved exploration of the means of coördination of C.I.O. and A.F. of L. war relief money raising with local War Chest and Community Fund activities. The establishment of firm relationships with organized labor through fund raising provided further groundwork for developing a Division of Services to Labor in the Council of Social Agencies of Metropolitan Detroit.

In April, 1942, the Board of Directors of the Council authorized the managing director to establish the division and to appoint an advisory committee to that division. The program was described as services to labor in the development of welfare functions, the integration of efforts in the several areas of mutual interest, the provision of means of participation in Council and Fund activities, and the establishment of channels for social work's understanding of labor's interests.

The first problem of the division was the selection of an advisory committee. This committee, it was determined, should be entirely composed of labor representatives, all of whom could be at approximately the same level of understanding of social planning. So constituted, the committee would be assured of support from labor and could most effectively interpret the workers' needs. Candidates for the advisory committee were recommended by the local directors of the two major labor war relief committees with whom relationships were already established. The two large independent unions, the Railway Brotherhoods and the Mechanics Education Society of America, were approached through their presidents. Names of candidates were then submitted to the president of the Council board, who appointed the advisory committee.

The advisory committee has given counsel on the work of the division, both in the matter of establishing relationships and in reviewing projects initiated by labor and presented to the Chest for support. One such project studied by the committee was a workers' education program, the discussion and formulation of which provides the committee with an education in social work practices.

Other activities involved such varied matters as plans for labor representation on agency boards, a conference on recreation, and a program of coöperation between the Visiting Nurse Association and the C.I.O. Medical Research Institute. A handbook of social service for workers and a social service information center were in the planning and promotion stage when the secretary of the division was called to military service.

The Division of Services to Labor also made arrangements for active participation by organized labor in the budgeting process as budgets for the current year were reviewed. Both the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. were represented on each budget subcommittee and made effective contributions to the work. Lack of experience in the operation of private social agencies prevented their representatives from making as great a contribution as they will in future years.

The Division of Services to Labor, working closely with the War Policy Division of U.A.W.-C.I.O. and the Michigan C.I.O., assisted in the development of a program for union counselors. The union counselors employed in plants assist their fellow workers in the proper use of social and governmental agencies. Since they concern themselves with problems outside the plant, it was necessary for the counselors to be familiar with resources available in the community. More than a hundred union counselors, consisting largely of shop stewards, were graduated from the second class that was conducted by the division in 1944. A considerable number of persons on the shop level have, through this program, become aware of social work as practiced in the local community. From this group we may in the future expect an evaluation of our services, indications of new and unmet needs, and an informed group to draw upon for board membership in agencies.

While the first task of the Division of Services to Labor is regarded as that of winning the good will and support of organized labor, the division ultimately becomes a liaison office with important possibilities in the development of social planning and for a far-reaching democratization of social work. In Detroit this democratization has already begun. Organized labor has approved the development, the agencies federated with the Council, taken as a whole, have given at least tacit approval, and labor representatives are already finding their way to member agency boards. If labor's planning is to accord with, and be integrated into, planning for the whole community, not only will labor need technical assistance, but also it will need representation in bodies that actually formulate policies.

Major factors in this evolution will be the training, interests, and general personality of the secretary of the Division of Services to Labor. This person not only should have a knowledge of, and sympathy with, the labor movement, but he should also have social work training, especially in community organization. An individual with only a labor background and with no social work training would be of meager value in interpreting social work to organized labor. Such a staff member is responsible first to the managing director, and then to organized labor. If approval of this staff member were sought from organized labor before the appointment was made, difficulties inevitably would arise because of interunion and intra-union rivalries. This is a community organization job, and the secretary's relation to the Council should be equivalent to that of other division secretaries.

A program of service to organized labor should be concerned with at least three activities: (a) the development of labor's interest in social work processes and in broad programs for community welfare; (b) the development of labor's own welfare functions; and (c) the integration of efforts to achieve higher standards of health and housing and other desirable goals. In order that this may be accomplished, all must look forward to the integration of labor on policy-making boards.

There is an increasing necessity, as social service agencies actively seek union representation, that organized labor train its members for such service. A difficulty encountered in the search for union representation by social agencies is the fact that delegated union officials alone can speak for the membership. Social agencies have occasionally thought, because of the presence of a union member, that organized labor was represented on their boards. Such a person can present his own ideas as a union member, but, he cannot commit organized labor to any point of view or to any action. The problem of securing adequate union participation in community activities is difficult, and a satisfactory solution is not yet apparent.

It cannot be said that when in 1937 the Detroit Council of Social Agencies introduced a program of interpreting social services to industrial representatives that it foresaw the years ahead and the part that organized labor would play in molding the thinking of the local authorities engaged in community organization and social services. The program was carried out in the face of criticism from some contributors to the Community Fund who threatened to withdraw their support. Other contributors, fortunately, felt that the Community Fund should be supported and administered by persons

representing the total community, and they were helpful in working out new relationships.

The leaders of organized labor in Detroit have for the last few years endorsed the Community Fund campaign. In 1942 and 1943 they actively participated in the drive and were responsible for its success to a considerable extent. Labor, as a contributor, does not intend to continue to play a passive role in the affairs of the social work community, and its support does not imply noncritical acceptance. Fundamentally opposed to all services which arise from deprivation, its support of social agency programs is an expedient.

The development of labor participation in social planning in Detroit has not been all smooth sailing. We anticipated the suspicion and opposition of some groups within the community; we did not anticipate some of the difficulties which arose within labor itself. In spite of having secured recognition, organized labor's lack of active participation continues to be a major problem. There are, to be sure, notable exceptions, but by and large, advantage is not taken of the opportunities that are offered.

One problem is that of working with a group in which there is a rapid turnover in personnel. It is exceedingly difficult to establish rapport with constantly changing union representatives. The Willow Run Community Council, in existence for two years, has been faced with new union representation each year. The executive secretary, while realizing the value of spreading interpretation and opportunities for participation, finds it most difficult constantly to orient new board members whose knowledge of community organization and social agency structure is limited.

Organized labor has demonstrated considerable impatience at the slowness with which funds and councils operate. Requests for union-created projects to be financed by the Detroit War Chest have met with painful reverses. Board members who represent a cross section of the community are slow to accept union requests for financing projects which at times seem unrelated to total community needs. Participation by organized labor in total planning rather than participation sporadically on labor-sponsored projects would tend to create understanding and eliminate suspicion.

The increasing tendency of unions to think in terms of organizing their own social services is perhaps a symptom of their frustration, but it is questionable whether withdrawal from total community planning will prove desirable. Since labor has achieved considerable acceptance in the community, it is to be hoped that temporary reverses will be looked upon by organized labor as a

challenge to interpret further their point of view to the public which is represented on agency boards.

The participation of organized labor in the social planning process is wholesome for social work. There are enormous constructive possibilities in its future development. It offers opportunities for bringing about a broader acceptance of labor's part in united community efforts. Labor has not been unaware of the public relations values of its participation in these efforts. While the timid overtures thus far made have happy auguries of the future, much remains to be done before the tentative courtship develops into a lasting marriage. Such a happy event is dependent upon patience, forbearance, and imaginative leadership. There must be on the part of that leadership adaptability, courage, and a readiness to experiment. Changes in the economic structure of society make the broadening of the base of giving essential to the future of private social work; and a democratization of the planning process is socially desirable if we are to build a sound movement based upon the needs and aspirations of people.

I am hopeful that there will be a growing conviction of the desirability of increased participation by labor, an honest facing of the difficulties involved, and the will to see it through. Both social work and labor have too much to gain to fail in the attempt.

CASE WORK IN UNIONS

By CONSTANCE KYLE

SOCIAL WORK in a trade union is a significant adaptation of a social institution growing out of the all-encompassing demands of a people's war. Such developments do not occur automatically or in a vacuum. They occur at the point where need is great and where there is leadership that understands the situation and is not afraid to break with old conceptions and prejudices or to establish new precedents. It calls for an intensely practical, realistic leadership ready to work with the entire community to meet common problems.

There are two characteristics which form the roots of social case work in a trade union and determine its direction: the fact that it is adapted to the nature and problems of a given industry; and the fact that it operates under the democratic controls of group life organized and determined by those who use the service.

We are accustomed to think social agencies as organized along family, age, or social group lines, or as established to meet particular types of problems such as health, psychiatric, or legal. Social work in a trade union is perhaps most analogous to the work of the family agencies in that it cuts across all other lines and frequently acts as an initiating point for the utilization of all types of community resources. It differs from the family agency in its higher percentage of short contacts—with long-range, intensive work generally referred to the appropriate community agency—and its specialization in terms of an occupational group. Thus the service is limited to that cross section of an entire community which is to be found in a given industry. Essentially, this is not a limitation, but a broadening out. The close ties to the industry and to the union bring social work to hundreds who would otherwise not find their way to any service. The individual approaches the service provided by his union with the confidence which comes from knowing that its workers are familiar with the general situation which conditions his particular problem. Since they are a part of his trade union, he can

assume that they are there to act in his interest. He knows that what they may or may not be able to do for him is guided by the policy which he as a union member helps to determine. He has, for instance, shared in the decision to establish coöperative relationships with certain community organizations, with all the advantages, limitations, and responsibilities which that involves.

This method of approach to a given industry may be the opening through which social work can contribute more effectively to the solution of certain problems. All working groups have common problems, such as the wage structure as related to mounting living costs, inadequate housing, and lack of proper health or child care facilities. However, a particular industry will feel one problem more sharply than another. What is even more important, the workers in a given industry are organized in their trade unions on the basis of that industry, and it is along those lines that they have a collective voice with which to make themselves heard.

The merchant seamen have their particular problems. High on that list have been the misconceptions, prejudices, and attitudes of the community toward them. Treated like a "bum," forced to live in filthy rooming houses when on land, paid thirty dollars a month for skilled work—when he could get it—having no unemployment insurance or other social benefits, knowing social work mainly through charitable organizations with strong uplift tendencies, the seaman viewed the shore community through his porthole and did not find it a friendly place.

Bad living and working conditions, a tuberculosis rate estimated to be three or four times that of the rest of the population, and the highly hazardous nature of his occupation made up the unpromising picture of the average seaman's life. It was a picture which the seamen themselves undertook to change. They built a strong organization—the National Maritime Union—in which democracy is jealously guarded at every step. There is no higher term of approval among seamen than to say that a man is a good union man and a good rank-and-filer. The union is the instrument through which the seamen are building a better life and through which they are becoming an integral part of the community.

Today the majority of the merchant seamen have family responsibilities. Their wages have come up from below the family subsistence level to a weekly average of \$32.25. They still do not have unemployment insurance, but their campaign for it is gaining support of serious proportions. Their health problems are still extensive, but the facilities for coping with them have been im-

proved. The main battles against job discrimination based on race, color, or creed, have been won, and the Fair Employment Practice Committee is helping to carry that fight forward. Upgrading schools to advance their rating and equip the men with new skills have been opened by the union and are now operated by the government with the union's coöperation. The campaign to improve the naturalization procedure for foreign-born seamen is gaining momentum. In 1944 the seamen will enjoy the right of the ballot on board ship for the first time. Along with all this, the seamen have taken the initiative in bringing social work into their trade union. The seaman spends ten or eleven months of the year at sea, but even from his ship and in his brief shore leave he is putting down roots in the community, and the community is beginning to have some knowledge and appreciation of the seaman's contribution to their welfare, first and foremost through his major contribution to the nation's war effort.

Social work in general has close ties with the life around it, but this was never more true than in the work of the Personal Service Department of the National Maritime Union. The men and their families come to us with the dignity of an equal footing, surrounded by their own group. Many of their problems are settled through collective group action, and the case work process which is utilized in the solution of an individual problem is integrated with the resources and strengths of the surrounding group life. We have learned through experience that this group setting lends ease, strength, and even speed to the working out of an individual problem. Basic are the confidence and self-assurance that come with being a respected part of a group—a confidence that does not always carry over into case work in a setting isolated from active group participation and recognition. The mere fact that the seaman can see for himself that a hundred or so of his shipmates come to the Personal Service Department daily tends to maintain his self-respect by visible demonstration that his individual problem does not set him apart as uncomfortably different. This, combined with the fact that the service is confidential, makes it easier for him to trust the interviewer with pertinent information that might take much longer to bring out under other circumstances. The way in which our natural setting helps to overcome or eliminate initial resistance is of vital importance to the quality and effectiveness of our work. This is particularly important since the seaman is limited in wartime to a shore leave not exceeding thirty days, unless a medical problem or a demonstrable personal hardship is involved. The situation calls

for all our case work skills and a full knowledge of appropriate resources since we know that a problem cannot wait until "next Tuesday" for further exploration and follow-up.

A thirty-two-year-old seaman from Iowa came in to secure a loan to tide him over for forty-eight hours until he shipped. All his papers were in order. He had been home to visit his family, left enough money to carry them until the next allotment started, and had found a cardiac specialist for his mother. He spoke of his family with affection but he had come away a week sooner than was necessary. He expressed an eagerness to ship, but there had been job openings in his rating that he had not taken. He looked exhausted and had a nervous manner of speaking. The interviewer could have pointed out that jobs were available in his rating and loaned him enough money to carry him until he went aboard. Instead, she asked him what kind of trip he had the last time. The gist of the story was that he had been torpedoed just ten days after he first went to sea; that he spent nine days on a life raft and then saw his closest buddy die from lack of proper care after they were picked up by some Spanish fascists. It was the unnecessary death of his friend that hit him the hardest. These were experiences that he had felt he could not talk about with his family and that had made him feel out of touch with the normal routine of his life in a small Iowa town. Nor had the family been able to understand when he got thoroughly drunk for the first time in his life. He knew that he was scared, but he felt that the best cure would be to get back on a ship, to prove that he could "take it" like the others. Moreover, he now had a couple of scores to settle with the fascists—you read about fascism and you don't like it, but seeing it hit your ship and kill your friends is something different. He wanted to fight back. He indicated that he was not sleeping properly and that he jumped at a slight noise.

The interviewer agreed with him about fighting back and fostered the idea of aiming his aggression against the enemy who had done this to him, but she also indicated that a certain amount of fear was normal, considering what he had been through; that she knew the other men had it too, even men with more experience. She asked what he would think of taking a couple of weeks at the rest home so that he would feel a little steadier when he shipped out. She suggested that if he was interested, he could see a psychiatrist at the rest home who had known many seamen who had been through similar experiences and would understand how he felt about it. To overcome his feeling that this step would mean coddling

himself or perhaps imply that he was more ill than he wanted to believe, the interviewer stressed the normalcy of his reaction, its temporary nature if taken care of promptly, and the fact that the union as an organization coöperated in, and advocated the setting up of, the rest homes, not only for the sake of the individual, but also because it believed that the rest would help the men keep up a good level of work throughout the long pull until the war was won. This conception of rest and treatment as a normal, responsible way to keep fit for a war job made the plan acceptable to him. He took a ship three weeks later in a visibly improved condition and has continued to ship steadily since that time.

Not all referrals nor all incipient or potential war neuroses run so smooth a course, but we can safely say that our setting has two great assets in such cases. First, the fact that we are a part of the place from which the seaman is employed for each trip means that these problems reach us in the early stages. Secondly, we are in a position to reassure the seaman that taking the time and the proper steps to look after himself does not mean that he is letting his ship-mates down or that he cannot measure up to the rest of them.

We are often asked how or to what extent we relate ourselves to community agencies and resources. Do we do case work, or are we primarily a referral agency? Do we duplicate the work of community agencies, such as the private family agencies? How do we differ from the family agencies? Are we similar in function to the Red Cross for the Army and Navy, or to the Traveler's Aid in meeting emergencies of a mobile group?

We are closely related to one wartime community agency, the United Seamen's Service. That organization has a representative in our Personal Service Department, and we have the use of their funds for loans and grants. A U.S.S.-N.M.U. Personal Service Department has been opened in the New Orleans National Maritime Union hall, and it is expected that others will open in Baltimore, Boston, and San Pedro, California in the near future. This has been made possible by the practical and progressive policy of the U.S.S. of making their services available wherever large numbers of active seamen congregate. It is a precedent followed by some of our family agencies that are now loaning staff members to other trade unions on a part-time basis. U.S.S. funds are used on an emergency basis only and their use is not substituted for the services available through family and other community agencies to whom we turn when more long-range care is indicated in an individual situation.

The largest group of referrals is to the health agencies, since

health problems are the most acute and the most likely to interfere with the seamen's employment. The United States Public Health Service was founded in the 1790s for the purpose of providing medical care for seamen. The marine hospitals in the port of New York have a well-established social service department with which we coöperate closely. The hospitals met temporary maintenance needs from a voluntary fund until the wartime load became too heavy for them to carry. We now provide temporary assistance while the seaman is under treatment in the out-patient clinic, provided he expects to reship in the near future, or until the doctor is able to clarify the prognosis sufficiently so that we can see whether either long-range or shore employment is indicated. The U.S.S. has filled a real need, for the lack of short-time emergency assistance covering a period of anywhere from one day to several weeks is most conspicuous in general community planning. We find that community agencies are still geared to meeting long-range needs rather than the temporary emergencies of otherwise employed workers.

The fact that we are asked whether we do case work is in itself an indication that many social workers have come to think of case work as synonymous with intensive therapy, which implies a fairly long and sustained contact. Perhaps the pressures of war, the expanse of social work into new fields, the advent of industrial counseling, and the impact of high employment figures will help us to broaden our conceptions as to what constitutes case work. We need to remember that short-contact interviewing calls for all the skills in our arsenal and that the referral process in itself may not be as simple as giving someone an address and a telephone number. In fact, referral to a community agency which has become associated in the public's mind with charity and unemployment may, and usually does, call for a good deal of interpretation related to the particular individual situation. Here again our status as a part of the union and the nature of our relationship with the men resulting from our connection with that group may prove of decisive value.

A young seaman came to us for help in getting housekeeping service for his twenty-four-year-old wife, who was a cardiac case and had a fourteen month-old baby to care for. He was alarmed because she was worse when he returned from his last trip, and now his time on shore was about up. He had no way of knowing how long he would be away and wanted absolute assurance that his wife would have housekeeping service for a year. He saw it as his only guarantee of peace of mind while at sea. It was clear that both he and his wife regarded her as a more or less permanent invalid. Consultation

with the hospital showed that the cardiac condition was serious but that she could have partial activity. Moreover, the doctor was concerned about her tendency to lapse into complete invalidism. The couple had rejected the hospital's efforts to refer them to a private case work agency, and it was felt that housekeeping service alone might intensify the invalidism. Since they did not need financial assistance apart from the cost of the housekeeper, they failed to see any need to consult the family agency. They felt that if the community agency had any real interest in their problem, it would provide the housekeeper and let it go at that. On the basis of the union's clear identification with his best interests, we were able to break the deadlock and to get the young husband to discuss the matter further with the doctor. It was suggested that perhaps his wife was not ready to undertake much to start with, but that with a temporary housekeeper and the help of a case worker from the family agency, she could gradually build up her activity to the point which the doctor assured him was permissible medically. The worker mentioned that it might give both him and his wife more confidence and peace of mind during his trip if they knew that she was working in that direction.

As in any other situation, the basis for referral must be clearly understood and accepted by the individual involved if the referral is to work out satisfactorily. The particular point involved here is the way in which our being associated with his union helped to establish a relationship with the individual which made it possible for him to consider referral to a community agency. Another interesting point is that our contact with the family was initiated by the husband. About a third of our work is with families, of which more than 60 percent of the contacts are initiated by the man of the family. He is more directly involved in our planning with the family than is possible in most community agencies. In some instances he wants to be responsible for the full contact in order to maintain his status as head of the family. In others, he wants to initiate the contact for his wife or to know that he can tell her to come to see us if an emergency arises while he is at sea. All the families of our missing men are contacted by our department and offered guidance and help in taking the proper steps to collect their claims and work out plans for the future.

One distinguishing factor should be kept in mind when we speak of short-contact interviewing in our setting. The National Maritime Union is a membership organization to which the men return after each trip in order to obtain their next job. This means that the men

are available for follow-up when indicated, and we are available to them if they want to let us know how a problem has worked out or if they wish to consult with us further. In this respect some of the men may use us much as they would a community agency, with wider spacing of contacts due to the nature of their work.

One of the most dynamic factors in our work is the coördination with, and use of, specialized departments of the union. The Foreign Flag Department deals with the manning of American-owned vessels registered under Panamanian and Honduran flags. The department members are also specialists in the immigration problems of seamen. A young French seaman had the usual papers, permitting him to re-enter the United States for the purpose of reshipping only, with a time limit of thirty days. He was having severe headaches and had had two widely spaced convulsive seizures. The neurological examination was negative, but the psychiatrist advised six months on shore to determine whether the seizures were epileptic. He was well enough to support himself, provided the immigration authorities would grant permission. The only alternative would be the demoralizing experience of being sent to the alien ward of a detention hospital, although hospitalization was not indicated. The director of the Foreign Flag Department took up the case with the immigration authorities in Philadelphia, thus making it possible to carry out the more humane and desirable case work plan.

Another illustration of the use of the union's resources is found in our relationship with the union representative at the Coast Guard Hearing unit, which has jurisdiction over infractions of discipline and safety regulations aboard ship. One of the men was on trial for a dangerous mistake, that of opening a valve at the wrong time. The union representative recognized that there was a medical problem involved. Proper follow-up through Personal Service traced the trouble to a long-standing disease of the central nervous system.

We have spoken of our use of community agencies and resources. However, the process works the other way as well. The Department of Welfare was interested in rehabilitating a family in which the husband had formerly worked as a seaman. They referred him to us for help in getting his documents together so that he might ship out and maintain the family. Local community agencies and the National Red Cross call upon the Personal Service for help in locating seamen, to check on their safety or to notify them of an emergency at home. The War Shipping Administration Medical Center sends us weekly lists of union members who were found to have either active or arrested tuberculosis when they took their signing-on

physical examination. Those with arrested tuberculosis are allowed to sail, and we will use our facilities for contacting them when they return, in order to encourage a recheck.

Another important phase of our work concerns legislative and community action. We coöperate actively with other unions, community agencies, and organizations on questions of child care, health, and housing. More than that, we take our problems to Washington for legislative and governmental action. Our work gives us concrete experience on which to base our recommendations. The Personal Service Department represented the National Maritime Union at a recent House subcommittee hearing on permanent disability compensation for seamen and participated in governmental meetings designed to get the recommendations and coöperation of the maritime unions on health examinations, requirements, and procedures. We believe that we best discharge our responsibilities through a combination of meeting the individual needs and taking group action of a legislative and preventive nature. When we fully understand the relationship between the individual and his organization we understand the dynamics of case work in the union.

FOSTER HOME CARE IN WARTIME

By *DOROTHY HUTCHINSON*

THE AREA of child care is confronted with the most difficult and critical period in its history. Not only are foster care services being curtailed at a time when they are most needed, but the services that remain are seriously threatened. Though the child and his necessity have not changed, the standards of his care are being rationed at a price costly to the child, to the agency, and to the community. The two main strongholds of child placing, the foster home and the qualified worker, are seriously affected by the compelling exigencies of war. In this field, consequently, the profession is exposed to hazards that strike at its foundations and endanger hard-won standards.

The problem of modifying the standards of foster home care is not a simple one. It involves questions not readily answered. Granting shortages in staff and in foster homes, granting services that have to be stretched and spread thin, granting the consequent second-rate care of children, what compromises in standards are bearable? Which are unbearable? What standards can be sacrificed? Which must be preserved at all costs? What makeshifts are economical, practical, and reasonably safe? Which are costly, impotent, and unthinkable? To answer such questions is not only difficult, but, in many instances, demands of the agency and of the worker an impossible choice. Is it permissible to take into care more children than the agency can reasonably serve—to strain already overtaxed services? If not, what children or groups of children are to be denied help? Considering the present scarcity of foster homes, should we abandon our customary standards of home finding? If so, which standards should we abandon? Should we now accept less qualified foster parents because we have so little choice? Should we overcrowd good foster homes for the sake of expediency? Such questions are agitating the whole field of child care. Compromises and makeshift services are prevalent. Because the situation violates well-established standards, there is a feeling of frustration and remorse in the hearts

and minds of child care workers and, as a result, a clamor for professional approval, on the one hand, and for forgiveness, on the other, for the making of such compromises. In certain instances, traditional standards are being thoughtfully and realistically re-evaluated. Modifications in practice are being brought about with a minimum of loss in quality of work as well as with a healthy relinquishment of outworn ideas. In other instances, newly won standards and services are being crippled before they attain their full growth. On the war-pressed agency, the overtaxed community, and the field in general rests the responsibility for safeguarding those standards of foster care that are essential to all foster children and without which there is no genuine child care. Compromises in the care of foster children should be no better and no worse than those limitations inherent in the best care of all children in their own homes.

Many American children are growing up in homes where there are no men—a war-induced necessity, certainly a limitation, truly a deprivation. However, where the character and temperament of the mother are stable, confident, and loving, the child can continue to grow and to develop. A foster home in which there are no men is less preferable, surely, to one which offers the child a complete family, yet to refuse the application of a husbandless woman who wishes to assume the responsibilities of a foster mother would seem shortsighted and out of keeping with the times. The unmarried woman has never been popular as a foster parent and, in many instances, this unpopularity has been justified on the grounds of rigidity, inhibition, and tenseness. The war now offers us an opportunity to individualize this generalization and to acknowledge that “old maidness” is, after all, an individual characteristic, that it can be found both within and outside marriage, and that it does not *a priori* and automatically rule out the capacity for child rearing and child loving. The woman alone, whether married or unmarried, has, more often than not, been refused as a foster parent on the score of income. She may have all the necessary qualifications to be a good foster mother, but because she must make a living for herself she is considered too great a risk for the agency or too great a drain on its financial resources.

Wartime conditions raise new questions about money, especially as it relates to foster home board rates. A general upward trend of a few dollars is noticeable throughout the field, and all increases are tailored to meet the higher cost of living. There still remains the long-unanswered question as to how much the job of foster

parent is worth. Money paid to foster parents has been a key designed to unlock homes which otherwise could not afford to take a child. Officially, the money has been intended to cover the cost of food and shelter. Whatever amount remained, usually only a trifle even to the most economical manager, was considered a return for service and care. Board rates have at all times been low. Society, in fact, has frowned upon paying for a service which should "spring from the heart." Social work has rationalized away this contradiction, partly because of lack of funds, partly because it shared the feeling of society that good motherhood and money are incompatible. The foster mother is, unofficially speaking, expected to harvest enough personal and spiritual satisfaction from the job itself to compensate her for the lack of money paid. In a sense, foster parents who take children to board might be called the aristocrats of the poor. Suppose we grant that boarding mothers go into this work for the personal satisfactions; suppose also we acknowledge this to be inevitable and desirable; suppose, furthermore, that we expect and want boarding mothers to have these satisfactions—how often do they really get them?

War conditions have a way of cutting abruptly through staid practices and of presenting us with the necessity to re-examine them anew. The present shortage of foster homes raises the question: Will higher board rates bring us more homes? We do not know. Certainly they will not guarantee the acquiring of better homes. What they can do is to elevate the state of foster parenthood, to announce how much value and importance we assign to the job. Practically, higher rates would provide a more honest reimbursement for service rendered. To publicize and to acknowledge foster parenthood as more than an unskilled job, as one that is rewarding as well as difficult, as one where the chance to serve is unlimited, would normally attract a class of potential foster parents that has been hitherto untouched. Just as social work attracts people who wish to serve, so foster parenthood might attract many people who seek to help others as an expression of their own abundant lives.

Granting that the job of foster parenthood is underpaid, that in a sense the boarding mother has been "benevolently" exploited, how much money over and above the cost of shelter and food might be paid for her service? Any answer to this question will be conditioned by how much money the agency has, by how great a conviction it has on this subject, and by its ability to promote the idea that the foster mother should be more adequately paid. It is noteworthy that the government pays an allotment of fifty dollars a

month to the wife of a soldier and thirty dollars for his child, a total of eighty dollars a month. This amount is assured irrespective of what resources a family may have, and it is given regardless of whether the wife is a good or a bad mother. Certainly a foster mother has just as much right to be paid for her services as any social worker, businessman, farmer, or beautician. Just because she is paid does not mean that a foster mother will do a poorer job any more than this is true of a social worker. Recently certain sponsors of evacuated British children felt that they were paying for second-rate care when they were asked by the placing agency to pay six dollars a week for a child's board. They wanted to pay fifteen dollars a week. The moral is that in this world we pay for what is worth paying for.

Springing from the need to secure many more foster homes grows the widespread use of publicity on a scale unprecedented. To defeat competition, agencies are banding together to meet the problem. Better and more complete coördination of resources is being made possible. The results of the publicity are still uncertain. It seems to be true that all the agencies that adopt a wide newspaper campaign to secure boarding homes are receiving many more applications than usual, in some cases even hundreds and thousands. One such agency reports that its percentage of accepted homes is about the same as in peacetime; another, sharing in the same campaign, reports that its proportion of approved homes is greater than in normal times; another, that the cultural and personality level of the applicant is, in general, higher. A rough estimate of returns seems to show that between 6 percent and 11 percent of the homes are approved.

All kinds of publicity are being tried: pictures and stories of individual children and stimulating accounts of the foster parent job appear in newspapers; ministers and doctors are approached; foster mother teas and meetings are held; pamphlets and posters are distributed; radio talks are given; and mass meetings are held—in all a really concentrated and large-scale effort.

In quality and in tone the publicity has varied from outright sentimental appeals to a reserved and restrained story of a particular child. Less emphasis has been put on foster parenthood as such. The sentimental appeal, as always, is likely to attract the immature and ungratified person, one whose application is unprofitable and whose refusal is difficult. The sentimental appeal so often talks down to its audience and insults the very group it wishes to attract. It is a remnant of those glowing days when social work was romantic

rather than sensible. There is a difference between the sentimental appeal and the appeal with sentiment. The latter tells the truth in simple language and dignifies the story with sincere feeling. The former is engulfed in a fervor of feeling for its own sake and frightens off the mature applicant. Much publicity is still saturated with an adult's mistaken ideas of the child's point of view and results in sentimental trash. To present a child's point of view to an adult audience is difficult. It is said that attractive pictures of children bring in the largest returns and that most children like to have their pictures in the paper. But do they like the stories written about them? In the case of an older child especially, what does it do to his self-esteem to read that he is homeless, that his parents are in some way up against it, and that he is, in a sense, dependent on the response, on the whim, and on the fancy of unknown people? It is true that foster children have to face the necessity of their own placements, the difficulties of their parents, and, in many cases, even rejection. It is true, also, that case workers can and do help foster children to face their confusions and disappointments. However, it is one thing to help a child in the privacy of his personal situation and quite another to publicize his situation, no matter how benevolent the motive.

Foster parenthood itself has not been brought before the public eye to the same extent as has the child in need of care. Foster parenthood is an honorable, interesting, and wholly worth-while activity. It offers unlimited opportunity for the use of one's gifts for mothering and fathering, for service and for growth. The trouble is that we have never made foster parenthood fashionable. It has no well-recognized distinction or esteem. Nobody gets decorated for being a foster parent. The great evacuations of children in England and in Russia, however, are bringing foster parenthood into a distinguished limelight. Many foster parents of children who have been evacuated to this country are making foster parenthood popular in the higher walks of society. The great need and the great opportunity are to publicize foster parenthood, the importance and the dignity of being a foster parent.

Publicity for boarding homes has, in general, aimed at attracting the lower middle-class group and has done so out of deference to the cultural group from which come the majority of our boarding children. Not to deny the validity of our theories of overplacement and of underplacement, are we, at the same time, assuming that benevolence belongs only to the poor? Why do we not attract more boarding parents from the upper middle class and from certain

professional groups? Is it because this group can usually buy its satisfactions? Perhaps so, but are there not other reasons? Do people in this cultural and economic bracket represent to us more adequate persons? Do we feel an unconscious reluctance about seeking them out? Is this because we feel afraid, or embarrassed, and believe that it would somehow be more complicated to work with them? Do we fear that they would not have the same patience or the same interest in caring for difficult children? Certainly, there would be real problems, but it is not unthinkable to believe that college-educated people could take in foster children who had lived in relatively simple surroundings and give them the same quality of warmth and of interest that a charwoman could give them. It is not inconceivable that such families might board children with satisfaction and with profit. Of course, in placements of this type we would have to consider the child's parents. Such placements would have to be selective and protected with case work, but in the present dearth of foster homes does our reluctance inhibit us from tapping a potential group of would-be foster parents, hitherto unsought? Are we afraid of the possible criticism of the people who support any agencies?

War conditions are forcing us to modify our customary services. We are considering a more judicious and economical use of the limited time at our disposal. We are taking a diagnostic inventory of our total load with an eye to what standards we can and cannot let go. We are reconsidering the validity of habitual ideas and activities. For example, many agencies are now permitting a foster child to sleep in the same bed with another child, and in so doing are acknowledging that it is possible to do this and still be normal. Certain agencies have experimented with supervising foster homes less frequently. Where this has been tried the foster parents have been selected on the basis of their responsibility as persons, their tried experience, and their proved capacity to work with the agency. We are being more realistic in selecting new foster parents from categories previously prohibited, such as widows, single women, and older people on the grandparent level. We are no longer demanding perfection in foster homes. Of utmost importance is a new willingness to work out problems in foster homes rather than to evade them by placing the child in a new home. Intake and discharge are being overhauled. There is a more discriminating selectivity of children for care in our own agency, or greater readiness, for diagnostic reasons, to allot the child to another agency. There is earlier discharge, particularly of adolescents, from agency care. In other words, the war has made us more aware of the ebb and flow of cases and

the desirability of taking and keeping in care only those which can truly benefit by it.

War conditions are causing injury and deterioration to our well-established programs, but even more harm is being done to those programs which are in the fledgling stage. While it is difficult to get new foster homes, we are also losing old ones because of the stresses and necessities of war. We are cramming foster homes with more children than they can comfortably hold. Foster mothers frequently, to their confusion, must deal with three, four, and even five case workers. In addition, there seems to be a greater proportion of breakdowns among parents, making it necessary to secure foster care for their children, and more pathologies with which to work. The average time between the intake request and actual placement itself grows longer and longer, with all its resulting accumulation of greater anxiety. Even if the war brings no new frustrations it greatly augments the already existing ones.

In this welter of confusion, of blundering, of adversity, and of pressure stands the individual child with his same need. Agencies may be jolted, workers, parents, and foster parents may be under stress, but that the child himself should suffer is his misfortune and our humiliation. Questions as to what standards we can let go, as to which ones we will strive to maintain, must be weighed, in the last analysis, against the well-being of the child. Standards *per se* are not for agency, nor for the pride of the worker, but for the health and development of the child. For this reason, in the present emergency all standards of case work should be militantly maintained; where they have to be altered, they should be adapted to the child's needs in a way least harmful to his growth. Knowledge of the child, his preparation for placement, diagnostic selection of the foster home, a relationship with him, with his own parents, and with foster parents—these cannot, with impunity, be abandoned, especially in the initial stages of the child's care. It is hard to say just what short cuts can be tried in case work because there really are no short cuts with children. Adults can share and even be made to understand the deprivations and hardships under which an agency may be laboring, but children, especially little children, feel only the results of this hardship. Rejection holds pain for a child whether it comes from an unloving mother or from an overburdened agency.

With more diagnosis and more awareness our limited time can often be used more purposefully and economically, but curtailing the supervision of the worker is not one of the ways in which to economize. The more untrained the staff, the more essential is its

leadership and direction. The great turnover of workers today is unfortunate and inevitable. Supply and demand are out of balance, and the postwar period is likely to aggravate this situation. Therefore, an agency does well to invest in good and knowledgeable supervisors who can hold the service together, who can lend continuity and stability to the work, and who can insure the integrity of the program.

The child care worker today can derive much comfort from getting her goals clear, from deliberately knowing what she can do and what she cannot do, from choosing the most important things on which to concentrate. Of course, there is such a thing as having so many pressures coming from all directions at once that it becomes impossible for the most adequate worker to do her job. Under such conditions the worker dissipates herself because her function has never been defined or restricted to what is reasonable and economical for one human being to carry.

War conditions throw into the clear light of day the fact that we do not have enough services for children. The question as to which child shall be denied care is an impossible one, especially when the alternative is no care. The question is not an "either-or" one that can be answered alone by the children's field. This field is irrevocably interlocked with other fields, and the question thus becomes the property and the responsibility of the whole field of social work. Especially does child care go hand in hand with family care; for service to children is no better or no worse than that given to their parents. The quality and spirit of one field affect the quality and spirit of the other, and more complete service to all children is assured as both fields nourish and reinforce family life in all its forms. Both fields, too, are concerned with the pathologies of parenthood, with illness that cannot be cured, and with death which cannot be revoked—in other words, both fields witness the breakdown of parental life and see in the making the sources from which come all children, who need care. Furthermore, both fields know when their own services are inadequate. Therefore, the great responsibility is to make known the truth, namely, that every day certain children will continue to fall by the wayside until more and better services are forthcoming. In other words, there remains the responsibility for convincing the community of what we know to be the truth about children in need.

It is not war conditions alone which re-emphasize the great need for coördination of social services, but war conditions do lead us to feel as though we were laboring in vain when there is no coöpera-

tion. Family and children's case work are separately stronger when they pull together, both on the administrative and on the operating level.

Foster home care is shifting and turning in response to the tides of war. Its standards are being strained, its personnel is hard pressed. The essential need is to keep intact and to protect those services to children without which they are jeopardized in the present and incapacitated for the future.

THE CASE WORKER IN FOSTER FAMILIES FOR DAY CARE

By *ROSA JOHNSTON*

IN DISCUSSING the use and supervision of foster day-care homes I shall draw upon the experience of the Family Service Bureau in Houston, Texas. Houston is one of the communities which planned with some enthusiasm the development of foster day care. It was expected that the demands of war production would draw many more women into industry and it was realized that they would need resources for the care of their children. Houston, already a manufacturing city, was rapidly developing new defense industries and would have increasing work opportunities for women. There was in Houston a lack of adequate public assistance, both of a general nature and from Aid to Dependent Children.

A state law requires the licensing and supervising of day homes by the Child Welfare Division of the State Department of Public Welfare. Since the Child Welfare Division was understaffed and unable to undertake a program which was expected to develop into one of considerable size, the Family Service Bureau, a private agency, agreed to act as the agent of the State Department and to investigate and supervise day homes.

In January, 1943, following months of planning, the Bureau began this service. A day care department with a supervisor, two full-time workers, and a half-time worker was established. The department had the responsibility of investigating and supervising foster day homes and conferring with mothers regarding employment and their plans for the care of their children. Consultations with the mothers was an important part of the work.

The department immediately reviewed a large number of applications and telephoned inquiries from women who had learned of the service through newspaper publicity, plant personnel departments, or from other sources. The first resistance to the service, both from mothers and from the community, was encountered when the workers insisted on having a conference with each mother before recommending a day home for her children.

Counselors in industries, harassed by a high rate of absenteeism among their women employees, were impatient with the requirement that a worker must talk with the mothers. These counselors saw in this only another task to be shouldered by women who were already overburdened by their new duties as employees and their old responsibilities as homemakers. They assumed that the mother had been forced to give up part of her responsibility for the care of her children by circumstances beyond her control, that she must work either because she needed support, or because she was needed in a war plant. It was further assumed that if her expressed need for child care were met promptly and with a minimum of inquiry, she would be able to function satisfactorily and happily in her work.

We disagreed with this thinking and believed that the supervising of day homes must be a case work process. We did not give in to the pressure from industry and the community to make our day home lists available. We held to our conviction that if a mother could not take this first step she could not meet the necessary requirements for the use of a day home or assume the responsibility she must be able to take in using the home.

The day home is a resource for mothers with children under two or with older children who cannot be placed in nurseries, either because of the child's special problems or because of the lack of conveniently located nursery facilities. Foster day care is child placement on a partial basis, and as such it is concerned with some of the same serious problems that are involved in full-time care. It is necessary, therefore, to make as careful a study of the child and his family as is possible. There must be full discussion of the regulations under which the foster home operates and the part which the agency worker will play in arranging for placement and in supervising the home. The child's mother will be expected to give information about the child's health and development and his daily routine and to mention any adjustment problems. The family's financial planning will be involved to determine whether the plan is economically practical, for the agency guarantees board to foster mothers in all placements.

Frequently, problems in family relationships and personal adjustments are revealed as the mother discusses her request with the worker. We have opportunities to develop more awareness of her own problems on the part of the mother and her use of the worker as we meet resistance in regard to placement. The mother's capacity to participate constructively in the placement of the child

must be understood. The points at which she has difficulties must be recognized so that she can be given help.

We frequently encounter a mother's feeling of haste in making a placement. She either has accepted work and has agreed to report the following day, or she knows of a job which she wants to secure immediately. It is impossible for her to plan so quickly to place her child, either in a day home or in a nursery. We know that she should have time to think through more thoroughly the plans for the child, and we know that industry desires her to have the time. We know of no case in which the mother has lost her work opportunity if she has been able to share her concern for child care with her prospective employer.

Mrs. B., a young woman of twenty-four who was referred to the Family Service Bureau by the counselor of X shipyards, came to discuss plans she might make for Mary Anne, her eighteen-month-old daughter. She had accepted work at the X shipyards and had agreed to report the following day. She wanted Mary Anne to be in a good nursery school where she would have an opportunity to play with other children and be taught to share. Since Mary Anne was an only child, her mother considered such an arrangement important.

The worker explained to Mrs. B. that, due to Mary Anne's age, the little girl could not be admitted to a day nursery or nursery school, but that day home care would be available. The differences between a nursery and a day home were explained, and Mrs. B. was told how we selected our day homes. She felt sure that Mary Anne could adjust in a nursery since she was as mature as a child of two, and she wanted her to have the advantages that she could obtain only in a nursery. When the worker repeated that Mary Anne would probably not be accepted, Mrs. B. angrily replied that she wanted to do her part in the war effort, that the papers were calling every day for women workers, but that she could not work unless she made plans for Mary Anne.

The agency worker then talked with Mrs. B. about her interest in working at this time. Mrs. B. told of her work before Mary Anne's birth. She had had a good job, she liked to earn money, and she had enjoyed the contacts. She had wanted a baby and she and her husband had planned to have one later. Although her pregnancy had come as a surprise to her, she was delighted. While she had not objected to staying at home during her pregnancy or for the first year of the child's life, for the last six months she had been thinking about resuming work and had at last persuaded Mr. B. to

agree. As she continued talking Mrs. B. was able to express her dissatisfaction with her role of wife and mother and eventually faced the fact she wanted to work because she liked it better than staying at home and because she found the constant responsibility of Mary Anne irritating. She had wanted a nursery placement because it was more acceptable to her for Mary Anne to be in a school under trained teachers than in the care of a mother with no more special qualifications than she had.

Mrs. B. held to her decision to work and asked to use a day home. The restrictions and limitations of the home were discussed carefully, and her resistance was handled. We were able to anticipate with her some of the difficulties that might arise and to prepare her for the supervision of the department. Through this and later discussions both the worker and Mrs. B. were better able to understand and cope with the problems that arose when Mary Anne was placed in a day home.

Under the most favorable circumstances day care involves serious problems. If the placement is motivated by underlying attitudes of rejection on the part of the mother, these problems are multiplied. We have found that mothers can accept a discussion focused on their work history and on plans that they have made in the past for the care of their children. From such discussions their attitudes toward work, toward the child, and often toward their husbands and others are revealed. Frequently the mother can be helped to understand her real feelings, and thus can make her decision on a sounder basis.

When the mother has decided to use a day home, we talk with the foster mother whose home is most appropriate for the use of this particular child. We discuss with her what we have learned about the child, his health and developmental history, his personal adjustment. The mother's hours of work and the time the child needs to be in the home are discussed. We again impress on the foster mother the fact that her license is only for the day care of children. We know from experience that she may want to yield to pressure from the mother to give overnight care, and this invariably leads to complications. If the foster mother has had experience with a child of this age, we relate this placement to the previous one; if not, we talk about the developments of a child of this age, of his needs, physical and emotional. We attempt to anticipate some of the difficulties which might arise and interpret as well as possible the mother's attitude. The choice of taking this particular child rests with her. We have learned from experience

that it is unsound to minimize the difficulties which are apparent to the foster mother.

If the foster mother agrees to take the child, we talk again with the child's mother. We describe this particular home. We point out the strengths in the foster mother and any weakness we think the mother should know and can accept. Again we go over the requirements: a medical examination of the child, regularity of hours, promptness of pay, her responsibility for keeping the child at home if he becomes ill. We explain the services of our house-keeping department which she can use in an emergency. The mother understands that she can reject the home if she desires.

The case worker and the mother visit the foster mother. If possible, the child accompanies them. Often the case worker has to direct the interview so that mother and foster mother can arrive at an understanding. As the foster mother becomes more experienced she takes more initiative in this interview. If the home is acceptable to the mother, details of placement are agreed upon. Information regarding the mother's place of employment, the child's doctor, and the date of physical examination is entered in a registry furnished by the State Child Welfare Division. Plans are then made for the mother to visit the agency within a week or ten days after placement. If the placement goes well, we plan to see her at three- to four-week intervals.

The nature of day placement, with divided responsibilities for the child and twice-daily contacts between mother and foster mother, precipitates problems for the child, the mother, and the foster mother. Disagreements arise which, if not handled quickly, grow to such proportions that they may cause the plan to break down. It is our purpose to see that the child has as good care as possible while he is in a home under our supervision and that the experience is a constructive one for him. Since the child is receiving much of his training in the foster home, it is desirable that the mother and foster mother agree as to the methods of toilet training, feeding, and discipline. We need the mother's continued participation in the plan.

Sally C., fourteen months old, exhibited behavior for which the worker and foster mother were not prepared. Mrs. C. had told us that Sally was quiet and liked to play in her crib and would be no trouble to the foster mother. We knew she still nursed her bottle, but Mrs. C. herself raised a question about this and asked help. The worker and the foster mother realized that Sally was not just a good little girl, but a much too quiet child who would give way to

violent rages if her bottle were taken from her. She was content to remain quietly in her crib, alternately nursing her empty bottle or playing listlessly with her toys. We were dissatisfied with this behavior for a fourteen-month-old child, and Mrs. C. shared our concern when she realized that Sally's behavior was not the usual behavior of a child that age. Mrs. C. had lived with her parents since Sally's birth. Her mother, a dominating woman with little affection for Mrs. C. or for Sally, expected a child to conform to a pattern of behavior similar to that which she had expected of her own children. It was possible to help Mrs. C. change her own methods of handling Sally when she could understand more of her feelings toward her mother. With our assistance and the aid of her pediatrician she has been able to help Sally get satisfaction from other kinds of behavior and to handle the child at night in the way that she is treated during the day by her foster mother. Sally has now given up her bottle and is beginning to show interest in her environment.

Regular visits with the mother give her a sense of our interest in her and the child. They also give her the feeling that we are not entirely identified with the foster mother at times when it may be necessary to support the foster mother in upholding her rules. We believe this contact with the mother to be so important that we make it one of the requirements for the use of a home under our supervision.

Some mothers resent the additional time consumed in visiting the agency, and they see no necessity for conferences. If the placement lasts long enough, however, a different kind of relationship usually develops between worker and mother. A routine visit is made to the foster mother within a week of the placement. If the home is new or if we are uncertain of the foster mother's handling of the child, we visit it frequently. In other homes we visit less often. The foster home is assigned to a regular worker who assumes responsibility for the supervision of the home and for any child in the home. We have found it desirable to have this continuous contact between foster mother and worker, for the foster mother is able to work more comfortably with a worker she knows, and the worker has a rounded picture of her handling of children.

The quality of supervision varies. In the beginning, we were under considerable pressure to make foster homes available and we were inexperienced in their selection. We know now that we often helped foster mothers to qualify for a license when we should have helped them to withdraw their applications. Some of our greatest

difficulties come as a result of too little understanding of the foster mother and her reasons for taking children, and too little preparation of her for our supervisory responsibility.

Supervisory problems decrease in the homes which have been in use over a period of six months. These foster mothers more easily share responsibilities with the worker. Placement is more satisfactory when both mother and foster mother are mature people. When either is immature more difficulties arise, and when both are immature placement is rarely satisfactory for the child and seldom continues.

Mrs. M., one of our more successful foster mothers, has cared for children under our supervision for a year. She is a warm person, devoted to her husband and two boys. Her sons, sixteen and fourteen, are being encouraged by Mrs. M. to become independent, but she still has a store of affection for small children. She is able to share the responsibility for the children with the agency and can accept our limitations. Nevertheless, things did not work out smoothly when we placed Don A. in this home. Mrs. A. was dissatisfied with the home and with Mrs. M. She was, in turn, critical of Mrs. M.'s handling of Don and suspicious of her interest in him. She herself was alternately indulgent and severe with the boy and disapproved of Mrs. M.'s consistent handling.

Mrs. A. had recently separated from her husband following ten years of marriage. Mrs. A. had worked during this time, but she was able to give Mr. A. the attention he wanted. She was surprised when she learned that she was pregnant but she was pleased. Her pregnancy was uncomfortable, and she spent most of her time in bed. After Don came, most of her time was spent attending to his needs, and she was tired and cross at night. Mr. A. was jealous of Don and critical of her handling of him. She left Mr. A. after a particularly bitter quarrel when she decided that she would have to choose between them. At times she was able to express regret over the separation, but usually she could only express anger. Mr. A. had made no attempt at reconciliation. Mrs. A. expressed verbally nothing but a positive feeling toward Don.

Mrs. A. used this home irregularly. During the periods when she felt too guilty she would stay away from work and keep Don with her at home. When the responsibility of his care became too irksome she would return him to Mrs. M. Don had difficulty in adjusting, and showed his upset by his refusal to eat and by crying. We had difficulty in maintaining our contact with Mrs. A. She would come in only when she realized that the placement arrangements

were about to break down. Consequently, we were not able really to help her understand her own feelings about Don and his father and their effect on Don.

We worked closely with Mrs. M. We helped her to understand Mrs. A. so that she was able to like her although she could not accept her treatment of Don. She was able to understand more about Don's behavior and his needs so that she neither overindulged nor rejected him. She developed an intellectual interest in his needs and her ability to meet them. Although Mrs. M. would gladly have continued to keep Don, Mrs. A. removed him from the home at the end of three months and placed him with her parents in another city.

Mrs. M.'s home was also used by Mrs. K. for the care of her daughter, Mary, twenty months old. Mrs. K. was still another mother whose basic rejection of her child led to problems in the child and complications in the foster home.

In our first interview with Mrs. K. we had evidence of her rejecting attitude toward Mary. Since Mary was six months old, Mrs. K. had worked, and Mary had been boarded in a full-time, unsupervised, commercial home. Mrs. K. had decided to use a day home on the advice of her physician, who was concerned about the development of the child, who was retarded both physically and emotionally. Mrs. K. was not really concerned, but she agreed readily to our suggestions in regard to a training program, and agreed to see us regularly about the placement.

From the beginning Mrs. K. was irregular in calling for Mary at the day home. She was equally indifferent to the effect that this might have on Mary and to the inconvenience to Mrs. M. Finally we had to insist that she adhere to a schedule. Eventually Mrs. K. began to show some interest in the training of the child. She was able to regulate Mary's hours in the home and to give her a certain amount of security by being more consistent in her handling. She has continued to use the M. home and can now discuss with the worker her feelings toward Mary. Mary has improved.

We were impressed by Mrs. D.'s possibilities as a foster mother. Her home, one of the first in Houston to be investigated and licensed for day care, was located in a substantial residential section. Mr. D. held a good position. She was fond of children and eager to care for them and gave information readily. Mrs. D. had lost her own child three years before and was unable to have another. Her grief was evident. We had evidence too of an unsound relationship with Mr. D.

Four children were placed in the home over a period of three months. In only one instance did we consider that the placement was at all satisfactory. In that case, the child was older, three years of age, and the mother a responsible capable woman. Mrs. D. was subjected to experiences similar to those of most of our foster mothers. She had children who showed symptomatic behavior. She had mothers who were indifferent, critical, or demanding. Her reaction to all four mothers was the same: she envied them the children, she despised them for working, and she thought them unworthy of having children. The length of placement and the amount of discord depended on the mother. It took us three months to realize that Mrs. D.'s needs were such that they could not and should not be met by children and that we could not help her to see the work in its proper perspective. We realized that she was an unhappy woman, dissatisfied with her life, insecure in all her relationships, seeking somehow to meet her needs. At the end of three months we helped her to withdraw her home.

We soon learned that there were day homes operating in Houston without a license and, of course, without supervision. Some of these foster mothers had been keeping children over a period of years. We also learned that a number of women who had operated morning kindergartens had begun to keep the children all day to meet the need for full-day child care. They had not been required to have a permit to operate a kindergarten and had not applied for a license when they offered the additional service. We had reason to believe that the quality of care that the children were receiving in some of the homes was not good. It was decided that it would be more effective if the Family Service Bureau rather than the State Child Welfare Division assumed the responsibility of contacting these homes and war nurseries so that they could either qualify for a license or withdraw their service.

Our relationship with the mothers in these day homes and nurseries which received licenses has been difficult. They resisted our attempt to control their intake, and they resisted any but the most routine supervision. Some progress has been made in developing a different type of supervision chiefly because the foster mothers have become concerned over the turnover in their homes and because they have found themselves forced to assume more responsibility than they had wished. However, we can be of little help to these foster mothers in problems of a child's adjustment until we have contact with the mother. When the child has been placed, the mother is less able to talk with us. Her willingness to do so in the

beginning usually comes from her desire to have a plan for her child. We hope that these foster mothers will be able to require contact of the mother with our agency as one their rules.

There has been a gradual growth, both in dependable day homes and in the number of children using the homes. On March 30, ninety-five children were under our supervision, either in day homes or in war nurseries. This number, of course, accounts for only a fraction of the children of working mothers in our community. We doubt that the program will ever be as large as we had anticipated. We believe, however, that foster day homes should be included in all day-care programs for children of working mothers, for they meet a need which is not peculiar to wartime.

For the mother who has the physical energy and emotional maturity to handle the difficulties entailed, foster day care is preferable to indifferent care within the home. We must keep in mind that the experience is a serious one for the child. We can make it constructive only if through a case work process we can help the mother and the foster mother to understand and to meet the child's needs.

CASE WORK TREATMENT OF EMOTIONAL MALADJUSTMENT IN MARRIAGE

By *ELSIE MARTENS*

IN ANY discussion of marital counseling as it is practiced in family case work agencies we need to define the term. The marriage state is not a static relationship. The individuals change as life around them changes. Their lives are composed, not of one piece, marriage, but of a mosaic of little pieces of marriage: cooking, wage earning, bridge, golf, children, opera, love, friends, dishwashing.

Because of the myriad of pieces composing this mosaic of marriage, advice or help in any single area is legitimately termed marital counseling. We have marital counseling in home economics, budgeting, child care; in contraception, sex technique, premarital instruction. Such advice is frequently sought by individuals who are well satisfied with their marriage but intelligently seeking to improve it.

There are marriages, however, in which one piece of the mosaic is so askew that the whole pattern is distorted. These are the marriages in which the partners are unable to view the pattern with an eye to its wholeness because they are so absorbed in a single piece. These emotionally disturbed individuals are typically the clients of the case work agency.

Marital counseling is not a new area of case work, but rather one in which we are self-consciously re-examining our practice in the light of a newly acquired understanding of the reasons for, and the implications of, marital problems and our deepening understanding of personality structure. Why, then, do we tend to separate marital counseling from the regular flow of our agency life, to value it differently? What is different in the group we refer to as "marital problems"?

In the first place, the individuals involved are more likely to have a high degree of anxiety about their situation. These people more often than others come to us voluntarily for help in the area of emo-

tional maladjustment. This has seemed, at times, a threat to our assurance that we can help. Treatment of emotional difficulty which grows out of another area of trouble has not placed us so much on our mettle as this direct request for help. This seems natural enough, since we are young in our professional knowledge and skills; but we need to take stock of what we do know and can accomplish and gain assurance from it.

Also, I believe we have seen marital counseling as something different because it brings to us for service people from a stratum of economic and educational achievement new to family case work—our neighbors and associates, our educational equals. For a while this frightened us. We looked at both our clients and ourselves with awe that we had achieved this ultimate in service on a community-wide basis.

In discussing the specific techniques applicable to marital counseling we encounter a basic principle of case work, that of differential diagnosis and treatment. Our study of personality structure has taught us that while each individual varies in the way he grows, both within himself and in his reaction to life experiences, there are common constellations around which the minor variations occur.

This discussion is limited to treatment techniques used by one group of case workers in treating a particular constellation frequently encountered in marital problems. In this group the wife is the major focus of the treatment. These women have come to the agency voluntarily because they are concerned about the relationship with the husband. They have some insight, either expressed or suppressed, into their part in the difficulties. They are anxious, tense, and conflicted. Usually they describe difficulties in other areas of their lives—trouble with children, with in-laws, with parents.

Mrs. Anderson's basic problem is typical of the group. At referral, Mrs. Anderson was twenty-six years old, her husband twenty-nine. There was one child, three-year-old Sally. The couple had been married five years, during which time Mr. Anderson had supported his family in moderate comfort. There were no social service registrations.

Mrs. Anderson came for help after a separation. They had been reconciled, but she wanted help because "unless something changed," she knew the same thing would happen again. In the first interview she was poised and talked easily. She described the pattern we see throughout this group of cases: a generalized anxiety affecting the woman's whole social adjustment; difficulties with the

husband, with some projection of responsibility on to him; and conflict around the sexual relationship. The diagnosis began to take form as she talked. She lacked desire for intercourse and had attempted to handle this by reading books on the techniques of sex. The books disapproved of withdrawal as a method of contraception, so her husband had discontinued the practice. Frightened by the implications of more complete intercourse, she had separated from her husband. She was afraid of losing her mind, complained of a voracious appetite followed by indigestion and nausea, suffered from disturbed sleep, and was concerned over her father and brother.

All this is symptomatic of the immature woman caught in the hostilities which are a part of unsatisfied childish desires. She tries to get some satisfaction through regression in earlier oral pleasures but is unable to do so because the hostility is there, too; and she finds it with her when she attempts to satisfy her desires in marriage.

Psychiatric consultation verified the worker's diagnosis. The oral symptoms indicated a pregenital level of adjustment. Her fear of being alone, of going insane, her restless sleep and headaches were evidence of anxiety regarding masturbation which the separation intensified. To her, intercourse itself was a castrating act, so she avoided it. Unable to separate her hostility from love and sex, she must protect the loved one from her hostile desires, and frigidity, pain, and lack of satisfaction in loving were the results.

Mrs. Anderson presented the evidence for the psychiatric diagnosis in the first interview. Others may take longer to describe the situation, may project more responsibility on to the husband, or may have more problems of social or economic adjustment to obscure the main conflict. How early the worker can arrive at a diagnosis will depend both upon the amount of anxiety the client has which impels her to reveal herself and upon the worker's ability to see the main thread clearly and so explore the areas of feeling necessary to confirm her thinking.

Once the diagnosis is confirmed, the type of treatment must be determined. Will the treatment be directed to the emotional problems of the woman? Will it be indirect, but focused on her and related to her emotional problems? Or will it be supportive help of an environmental nature? Here we must consider the capacities and needs of the client. How much insight does she show? What is the extent of her desire for help? What part do her husband and family play in the problem? How will the social situation aid or

complicate treatment? What strengths does she have? How firmly rooted are her defenses? How easily does she relate to others?

Mrs. Anderson's impelling anxiety drove her immediately to the heart of her problem, while other women will often project the responsibility so completely that indirect treatment is the only possible method. When the client herself puts a finger on the sore spot, to ignore it or to attempt to divert her is to lose the chance to help. Here, I believe, lies the answer to many of our failures.

In the second interview Mrs. Anderson focused the difficulty with her husband in the sexual area. It was not intercourse itself which was so troublesome, but the loving and fondling which accompanied it. If he would just "get it over with," she could bear it. She wondered whether their former practice of withdrawal had been a factor in their difficulty and indicated that she knew other methods of contraception but was not using them. She tried out the worker's earlier assurance that she could talk freely. With hesitation she told of having a troublesome thought constantly—a recollection of witnessing oral intercourse. She expressed a great deal of disgust about this. The worker commented that she did seem concerned, and encouraged her to talk about it. This acceptance of her concern, without identification with her disgust, gave Mrs. Anderson the assurance she needed. The scene she witnessed, real or imaginary, was, of course, a projection of her own desires, and the worker's acceptance of this is acceptance of her.

In the next four interviews, having acquired more confidence in the worker's interest in her, Mrs. Anderson expressed her fear of loss of love, which always accompanies hostility. With hostile impulses struggling for expression and loss of the longed-for love seeming to be the inevitable result of their expression, the individual is faced with Scylla and Charybdis. All her energy goes into repression of the hostility, and there is none left for loving or constructive efforts to change the situation.

Mrs. Anderson felt that her husband preferred his mother. If she could be sure he loved her more, she would feel all right. He never showed that he loved her in any way (in spite of the fact that he had consistently said that he loved her and did not want a separation). She was sure that his family did not like her, guessed she did not get along well with people—she never had felt loved. Her brother was her mother's favorite, and while she knew her father liked her, she was never sure of his love.

The worker consistently weighed Mrs. Anderson's feelings against

the real situation and helped her to evaluate them. Actually, she had the love of her husband and family.

In an easy, undemanding relationship with the case worker, where no standards of conduct or expectation are set up, the client can project outward the magnified fears of being unloved. The case worker sees the situation as it really is—the common thread of the client's own feeling running through all her relationships. When the case worker is able to do this without demanding that the client change, cease to magnify her fears, cease to react to this magnification, there is a relaxation which enables the client, too, to look at the situation as it really is.

Gradually, Mrs. Anderson began to fumble for the reason why she felt so unloved—that she felt herself to be unlovable. Encouraged to talk she began with generalizations. She had always thought of sex as bad, and connected it with childhood ideas. Her tension was evident. She struggled to talk, cried, and was obviously anxious. When encouraged with the statement that it would be helpful to her to talk about her feelings, she finally recounted oral sex play with another girl during adolescence. She decided that she must have had a mental quirk that made her do such things.

The worker told her that her feelings about the experiences undoubtedly did enter into her unhappiness in her marriage; that the unhappiness was a result of her feeling of shame and guilt, not a "mental quirk." She was given assurance that she could overcome these feelings and achieve greater happiness.

The following week Mrs. Anderson recounted having had a "nervous stomach" after the interview. She related it to what she had talked about, although she had felt a tremendous sense of relief. She showed concern about what her husband would think if he knew, and at the end of the interview expressed fear of the worker's opinion of her. Again she was assured of the worker's interest and liking. Almost immediately, Mrs. Anderson related improvement in the situation with her husband and in her social relationships.

This is a common movement in the group of cases. These women have either conscious or unconscious awareness of the hostility connected with their oral desires. They fear retaliation and expect rejection. Once having revealed the nature of their badness and having been met with the consistent, accepting, unpunishing attitude of the case worker, some of the fear is relieved. With less fear of hostility, there is more ability to love. This is expressed through an increase in satisfaction, both in the relationship with the husband and with friends.

Throughout the early months of contact, Mrs. Anderson was under the care of a physician for the stomach complaints. He consistently diagnosed the condition as nervous tension. As in any other area of case work, the client's health is important. The worker must be sure that the organic factors in any physical symptom are ruled out by competent medical diagnosis before she assumes the symptom to be of emotional origin.

Having revealed and had accepted her oral hostility, Mrs. Anderson was freed to approach another area of guilt—masturbation. She talked about this at first in symbolic terms. Mr. Anderson regularly left town on business. The nights that he was away were pure terror for her. She was afraid of being alone, afraid of attack. When she was inside she knew someone was looking at her through the window. She had been afraid in this way for as long as she could remember and related it to having been punished as a child by being shut in a dark closet. She referred several times to her reluctance to use contraceptives, finally blurting out that it was because she "couldn't bear to touch herself."

It was obvious that Mrs. Anderson was struggling with anxiety over masturbation and the hostility inherent in it. She projected this hostility outside herself and saw it directed against herself by sex maniacs. While this mechanism protected her from recognizing her own hostile wishes, she paid for the protection with a crippling fear which prevented her from ordinary enjoyment of life.

Throughout these interviews, the worker remained accepting and understanding, only urging her to recognize that her fears were unreasonable and suggesting further discussion to learn together why she had such unreasonable fears. As her discussion of these fears brought her closer to a recognition of her feelings about masturbation, Mrs. Anderson again began to have difficulty with her husband. She felt that he was inattentive, spent money unwisely, disagreed with her ideas on child training, and was critical of her attention to her parents.

Here again we see a response common to the group, a response which is discouraging to the worker who does not see its meaning in relation to the whole course of treatment. The client gains some insight into her motivations and how they affect her relationships. There is an increase in ability to love, and in sexual satisfaction. As this improvement relieves inner tensions, a larger area of the sore spot is exposed, and the client again must face her "bad" impulses. Again she reacts with fear, anxiety, and guilt, and may project the responsibility outside herself.

The worker's task is to keep the client aware of the improvements already effected; to respond with encouragement rather than discouragement. She must continue to hold before the client the real situation and the unreasonable response to it. Again, it cannot be emphasized too strongly that the worker's attitude must be one of consistent understanding and acceptance. Without this the client cannot bear her hostilities, cannot expose herself to the possibility of loss of love. The process can be compared to crossing a rushing stream on a narrow log bridge. The first steps are faltering. Each succeeding step brings greater courage, relaxing of the fear, so that balancing is more natural. When the halfway mark is passed, the danger seems almost over and one has the courage to run the last few steps. In treatment of marital problems, the worker must provide the balance. As that is always present in the same measure, the client's courage increases, and she can face the next steps.

Having attempted to project the whole problem outside herself, Mrs. Anderson was helped again to see her part in it. She began to talk a great deal of her current relationship to her parents. She had been unable to give up her childish deferment to their opinions and was continuously unsure of their love for her, although all their actions proved it. She was particularly fearful with her mother, and later saw her insecurity with other women as a reflection of the fear of maternal rejection. She felt that her father was more understanding. It was not until she was married that she was able to be comfortable with her mother. She compared her husband and her father, to the husband's detriment. In fact, she described the emotional conflict of the unresolved Oedipus in classical detail.

The case worker's role at this point is not to explore all the unconscious desires of the Oedipus situation. Rather, by her acceptance of these feelings, unconsciously expressed, she provides for the client an acceptance which belies the unrealistic fear of loss of love. Then, her courage increased, the client can face the unreality of this fear in her everyday life.

Mrs. Anderson was able to see how unfair was her comparison of husband and father, how much of Mr. Anderson's inattentiveness was retaliation for her criticism. She could then recognize his love for her.

At this point she related childhood angers against her mother and resented her mother's criticism of her for considering another pregnancy. As she recounted these experiences, the hostility still underlying the relationship came closer to consciousness, and after an interview in which her feelings against her mother were revealed,

she found excuses for not returning for several weeks. Then she began to project the feeling onto the worker in an interview in which she was angry and unable to use help. Her fear of punishment was indicated clearly the following week, when she telephoned for another appointment, which the worker was unable to arrange, and finally rather hesitantly kept the scheduled appointment. The ambivalence was clear. She wanted to come but was afraid, needed to see the worker for reassurance, but feared rejection. In this interview, having tested her fear against the worker's continued interest and encouragement, she took the final plunge and discussed openly her concern about childhood masturbation.

From this point on there was marked improvement in her total life situation. Mr. Anderson "improved" in his attitude toward her. She was free in sexual relationships with him and consistently achieved an orgasm, which had been impossible at first and only occasional until now. She was able to take an objective attitude toward difficulties with his family, with the result that there was coöperation from him in handling those difficulties. Sally, who had seemed to her naughty and "uncontrollable," responded positively to her love and was revealed as an attractive, sturdy, normal youngster. Activities with friends began to be anticipated and enjoyed.

To say that every client in the group under discussion followed this exact pattern (i.e., concern over oral sexuality, then fears regarding masturbation, expression of the hostility and fear in the relation to the case worker, and finally achievement of courage to discuss masturbation openly, with resulting release of tension and anxiety), would be inaccurate. One woman, referred by a clinic doctor, stated immediately that she saw her whole marriage threatened by current masturbation and the accompanying anxiety. Another never discussed it at all. The details and order of a client's expression of basic fears that inhibit her capacity to love will depend on factors in the individual situation. The general pattern which has seemed typical is the client's innate desire for, and capacity to, love; her initial exposure of "bad" parts of the self; increased security with the case worker as these "bad" parts lose some of their magnified quality in the case worker's more realistic view of her, followed by improvement in her ordinary life relationships; a further increase of tension and anxiety as other repressed or suppressed hostilities come to consciousness, with an accompanying slump in the improved quality of her relationships; direct expression of hostility, followed by further increase in life satisfactions.

Treatment was continued with Mrs. Anderson for several months.

Early in this period she showed considerable dependence on the worker. These efforts to lean unduly on the worker were dealt with realistically, without interpretation of the dependency. The worker's efforts were in the direction of helping her stand on her own feet, recognize her own abilities and competence. As Mrs. Anderson gained in assurance and satisfactions, her relationship with the worker became freer. She expressed continued happiness with her husband and mutual satisfaction in intercourse. She felt expansive, relieved, and as though she could "love the whole world."

Soon Mrs. Anderson proudly and happily announced her pregnancy—an event for which she and her husband had mutually hoped and planned. During the last month of contact (which was sustained for eleven months) she talked chiefly of the positives in her life. Her changed attitude toward marriage was illustrated in her comments about Sally's broken doll carriage: "My husband can't fix it. I used to take things to my father to be fixed. Now I'm not doing that because it makes my husband feel I prefer Dad. I don't really, but I can see how what I did made him feel that way."

This is the reaction we have seen in this group at the end of the treatment period. The earlier preoccupation with self and sex gives way to an ability to react more happily in all areas of life. One woman came to the agency for two years for financial help, budgeting, and child care. She was referred back to the agency by a clinic doctor when she expressed concern over her reactions in her sex life. The other problems were still present. She came to the early interviews armed with library books on sex and was totally preoccupied with that. Given an opportunity to explore the reasons for this, she gained insight rapidly. Significantly, the book she brought to the last interview was on interior decorating, and her conversation concerned her home.

We do not achieve our goal of helping people to sound family relationships through superimposing our own ideas that life should hold satisfactions and purposes other than sex. It is as futile to try to divert attention neurotically fixed in the sexual area as to warn the seven-year-old not to wiggle his loose front tooth. Provided with a noncritical, encouraging atmosphere in which to unburden her fears, helped to gain insight into the reasons for the fears and to face their unreality, the individual is freed to look around herself, to share with others, to be successful in areas which were too difficult before because the energy was being used for repression.

Where the relationship with the worker has been close and of long duration, the client usually feels great loss at the termination of the

contact. This needs to be recognized and the client given help in meeting it. Termination should not be abrupt and find the client unprepared. Even after preparation, however, one frequently faces at the end what seems to be a recurrence of the problems. This can be discouraging to the worker who has not encountered a similar situation and does not see it as a last desperate effort to gain her continuing attention.

Mrs. Anderson, for instance, in the last interview told the worker how badly things were going. She was angry with her mother. Mr. Anderson was drinking again. Sally was unmanageable, nothing was right. She was given an opportunity to vent her feelings, and then the worker began to ask specific questions about the troubles, revealing pretty flimsy evidence of difficulty. By reviewing all her complaints and recounting the actual situation, Mrs. Anderson was able to see that the situations themselves and her ability to meet them were improved. But she still felt dissatisfied. This was then related to her feeling about discontinuing the contact. She was given approval for her achievement to date; was told that there always would be difficulties in life, but that she could meet them now on a realistic basis, and so would be able to handle most of them herself. About five months later, when Mrs. Anderson came to ask the worker for specific information on nursery schools, she had no need to prolong her interview beyond the gaining of the factual information she sought.

Mrs. Anderson is typical of a group of clients who have had the same diagnosis and have responded similarly to this method of treatment. The diagnosis in each instance, as confirmed by the psychiatrist, has been that of a woman meeting her marriage with the emotional syndrome of the unresolved Oedipus, with a pregenital level of adjustment, oral hostility, fear and guilt around masturbation, and fear of loss of love, which touches many areas of the adult life. Treatment has been focused in the areas of chief concern, the hostility, and guilt over masturbation, with the relation to the current marital difficulty constantly kept uppermost.

Such treatment can be attempted only under definitely prescribed limitations. The case worker must be fully acquainted with the dynamics of behavior and possess the knowledge and ability to make an early, accurate diagnosis. She must have warmth to establish and maintain a helping relationship. She must be willing and able to examine her own needs and desires in the relationship, to control these needs, and to use her fullest capacities in the interest of the

client. And she must be skilled in treatment techniques with which to guide the client.

In addition, there must be psychiatric consultation. Dr. Harry Levey has outlined his idea of one of the futures of "relationship therapy" as:

. . . collaboration with the psychoanalytically experienced psychiatrist who has had an adequate experience of casework methods and whom you would consult rather early for the making of a tentative diagnosis of the unconscious factors in a client you have accepted for intensive treatment, for assistance in the delimitation of the treatment goal, in the formulation of a tentative treatment plan, in the understanding and management of the transference, and for help with the problems which arise during the supervision of case workers attempting relationship therapy.¹

This seems to define the necessity for, and the use of, a psychiatric consultant in such treatment as I have been discussing: early diagnosis, delimitation of the treatment goals, and continuous help in both treatment plans and the interrelationship of client and worker.

The question will be raised as to whether this is case work. I believe that it is one form of case work, just as environmental aid and supportive help are other forms of case work. It is a method of case work useful in situations where the client needs and the worker is able to offer help which can relieve destructive fears. The client will project these fears on the worker. The case worker's use of these feelings lies in providing for the client a different kind of reaction than she anticipated; that is, providing a realistic, adult response in place of the childish fears of the client. Her treatment stays always in the area of realistically understanding and helping to control comfortably those expressions of feeling which are causing trouble in the client's current life situation.

The goals are definitely limited to those areas in which the client is having current trouble; no effort is made at reorganization of the total life pattern of the individual. In essence, Mrs. Anderson was complaining of difficulty in the marriage which was related to her early childhood frustrations in the relationship to father and mother, and the resultant hostility and fear of being unloved. Treatment was directed at those elements in that difficulty which were either conscious to her at the start or were only partially repressed and came to consciousness in the accepting relationship with

¹ Harry B. Levey, "On Supervision of the Transference in Psychiatric Social Work," Chicago Round Table on Psychiatric Social Work, January 17, 1940.

the worker. Other reactions and emotions were not explored, since they were not a part of the client's conscious trouble at this time.

Dr. Levey is of the opinion that with the kind of psychiatric consultation outlined above case work might develop a method of treatment "*secure* in diagnosis . . . and *creative* in a vital relationship therapy founded upon an accurate understanding of the client's difficulties in loving as an adult. . . ." ²

² *Ibid.*

METHODS OF ACTION ON HOUSING LEGISLATION

By SYDNEY MASLEN

THE METHODS of social action which I shall discuss are, for the most part, those which have been used, successfully and otherwise, by the Community Service Society of New York City. It is true that some of the other activities of the agency as a whole, including those of the family service, educational nursing, and the nutritional and home economics staff, might well be considered social action if a liberal interpretation included leadership or participation in councils of social agencies and defense councils and community participation of a professional or union character.

Two standing committees of the Society traditionally act on New York State legislation. One is the Committee on Youth and Justice, a successor to the Criminal Courts Committee of the Charity Organization Society, which merged in 1939 with the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor to form the Community Service Society of New York; the other is the Committee on Housing, which is a continuation of the Tenement House Committee of the Charity Organization Society. In the field of housing, it is possible to draw upon many years' experience with the New York State Legislature. During the past ten years the Committee on Housing has considered and acted on over five hundred bills relating to housing in New York City.

The Tenement House Committee was organized in 1898 by Robert W. deForest, president of the Charity Organization Society, with Lawrence Veiller as secretary. Its purpose, stated in the annual report of the Society of that year was "in part to meet the critical situation caused by the appointment . . . of a commission to frame a Building Code for the city, and in part because of the long-felt conviction that some volunteer organization should be formed to promote housing reform and to prevent the loss of valuable progress already secured."

The committee explained why a social agency should take part in

such a program by saying that it was "in a strict sense charity organization work; it is calculated to remove some of the causes of poverty and to prevent the creation of environment which makes for poverty, disease, ignorance and crime." For two years the committee gathered data on social and health conditions in congested tenement houses. It then held a stirring exhibit of tenement house models to focus public attention on living conditions. Following this, passage of a bill sponsored by the committee resulted in the appointment of the Tenement House Commission of 1900; as a direct result, there was enacted the Tenement House Law of 1901, which was followed by the creation of the New York City Tenement House Department, the first of its kind in the country. Through the years, the committee has defended the law against attacks, both in the Legislature and in the courts, urged increased appropriations for the administrative department, voluntarily inspected dwellings and reported bad housing conditions to the city, and conducted a program of housing education. Its activities have served to underline the need for constant vigilance in order to protect social gains.

The personnel of the committee has been remarkably stable. Following Mr. Veiller's resignation as secretary in 1917, John J. Murphy, a former Tenement House Commissioner, served until 1933. The present secretary was appointed the following year, when a number of new members were added to the committee to supplement those who, for the most part, had served with the original commission of 1900.

In 1928 when Governor Smith appointed a commission to revise the Tenement House Law, two of the committee's members were appointed to that body, which drafted the Multiple Dwelling Law. During the 1944 legislative session a Joint Legislative Committee was once more appointed to "examine into the regulatory language contained in the law for the purpose of revising and amending same as well as bringing up to date its provisions in accordance with modern principles of building construction and in the light of affording maximum tenant protection."

A major activity of the committee since October 1, 1942, has been to study the needed clarification, simplification, and restatement of the Multiple Dwelling Law. With the war-enforced cessation of building construction and alterations, 1943 appeared to be an ideal year in which to concentrate on putting the law in workable shape for the large-scale construction programs which should be begun at the close of the European phase of the war. This is the most ambitious project that the committee has undertaken in the past

ten years. Its report will be submitted to the Joint Legislative Committee sometime in 1944.

Between 1928 and 1942, the committee studied various phases of the housing problem in New York City, and issued a number of reports and publications as a basis for action. In 1937 it aided in the drafting of the housing section of the new city charter. It actively supported the United States Housing Act of 1937, the Housing Amendment to the New York State Constitution in 1938, the State Public Housing Law of 1939, the city housing revenue (occupancy tax) law of 1939, to provide Federal, state, and city low-rent public housing aid. It goes without saying that other agencies, settlement houses, and civic and tenant groups were active too, for progress in social legislation is to a great extent dependent upon teamwork among community groups. By these measures, New York City has been placed in the unique position of receiving housing loans or subsidies from the Federal, state, and city government, and has consequently been able to make contracts for more than one hundred million dollars worth of subsidized, postwar, low-rent public housing, in addition to projects already built at a cost of more than ninety millions for some seventeen thousand families.

The committee has also urged adequate appropriations for the New York City Housing Authority and the Department of Housing and Buildings, has consistently proposed better qualifications for the housing personnel, has supported bills to provide loans so that owners may bring the old tenements into compliance with the law, and was active in supporting an increase in the rent allowance to recipients of relief in order to make it economically possible for the landlords to carry out improvements required by law. While bills supported by the committee to provide better requirements for rooming and lodging houses were enacted in 1939 and 1944, the committee has unsuccessfully sponsored bills to provide better lighting and sanitation in tenement houses, and to prohibit the erection of nonfireproof tenement houses over forty feet high. Wartime conditions, unfortunately, have provided grounds for objections which have prevented the passage of these measures.

Basic to our program of social action are certain beliefs:

1. We believe that in the American form of government the best performance of the local government is secured when there exists a well-equipped, unofficial organization working in the same field with that of the public body, supporting the public program, but prepared to offer constructive criticism as occasion demands.
2. We believe that because changing political factors cause shifts

in the administration of public programs, an unofficial organization may often be the more stable of the two and can exert a sustained influence in guiding incoming public officials in the formulation and direction of public policy.

3. We believe that progress can be secured by improving existing conditions. We believe that progress may be achieved opportunistically, as well as in the distant future, and that we must accept short-term as well as long-term goals.¹

4. Finally, we believe that public opinion, in the last analysis, determines public policy, and that effort spent in securing popular understanding and support for public issues will eventually be successful.

Of first importance, naturally, is the existence of an unofficial organization or citizens' committee, with sufficient staff and budget, whose personnel command respect because of their standing in the community and their competence in the particular field of legislative activity, and who represent a good cross section of community points of view. It is important to the legislature that the organization's decisions on bills are reached as a result of full consideration of relevant facts, with action taken preferably at meetings where there are discussion and active participation by a quorum. Perhaps of greatest moment, however, is the necessity that the organization be able to present strong public backing for its recommendations.

Four methods may be used for effective action: (1) prelegislative study; (2) activity during the legislative session; (3) passive legislative activity; and (4) postlegislative activity.

1. *Prelegislative study*.—The passage of legislation is never a goal in itself, and the first step is identification of a problem as one for which legislation is needed. It is true that problems of an administrative character may sometimes with profit be called to public attention through the introduction of legislation as an educational device, such as bills to increase a budget or to change the organizational setup of a public department, even though such a change could be accomplished by the administration, without legislation. It is sometimes desirable, for an educational purpose, to introduce bills even though they cannot be passed. We have observed an improvement in action at the administrative level, for instance, consequent to publicity attendant upon bills to outlaw occupancy of cellars of tenement houses.

After a legislative problem has been identified, the next step is

¹See *Broad Objectives of Housing in War and Peace*, Committee on Housing, Community Service Society of New York.

to gather information regarding it and to present this in the form of a report. It is by no means necessary to undertake considerable research in every instance or to prepare a voluminous report on every bill. A carefully worded one-page statement or a paragraph or two may be all that is necessary. However, if the legislation has to do with a far-reaching change and if considerable opposition may be expected, a comprehensive report, carefully documented and fully annotated, with conclusions and formulated recommendations, may be necessary. For example, in order to present the idea that the United States Housing Authority should adopt a graded-rent policy so as to adjust the rent in subsidized projects to a tenant's income and the size of his family, the committee issued in December, 1940, a study entitled "Adjusted Rents." The graded-rent policy has since been adopted by public housing authorities on such a widespread basis that it recently precipitated sharp debates on a national radio hook-up.

Education of public opinion, by circulating a report in advance of the legislative session or through newspaper articles and editorials, may be another step before legislation actually is introduced. However, when a proposed measure would merely improve an accepted program, or when it is technical in character, it may be unnecessary or even unwise to secure publicity. For instance, a minor bill which provides for the continuance of a list of eligible personnel who, in our judgment, failed to pass a sufficiently comprehensive test, should be opposed without publicly stimulating the whole group and all their relatives to high-pressure the legislature to pass the measure.

2. *Activity during the legislative session.*—While it has been our practice to prepare the first drafts of legislation, with the aid of a lawyer, we usually like to show the legislation in draft form to those who would have to administer it and to the legislative representative of the city; to have the wording checked by the State Bill Drafting Commission; and also to show the draft to the legislative leaders, chairmen of committees, and the prospective introducer of the bill in the legislature. Sometimes the draft of a bill may be shown to the Real Estate Board unless it is believed that their opposition is too inflexible to make an approach fruitful. While these steps slow up the actual introduction of a bill, there is no point in prematurely introducing it if it will run afoul of the established legislative or administrative officials, especially when they can be extended the courtesy of being asked to comment on the proposed measure. There is usually a psychological advantage in such preliminary clearance. Even if this process does not result in securing

coöperation, it usually is possible to introduce the legislation later if the matter is felt to be of sufficient importance to warrant taking issue with them. In such a preliminary introduction, as important as a good bill is the presentation of a brief statement, perhaps supported by a more complete report, that will explain the bill and show in a convincing manner the necessity for the legislation.

Different procedure is called for in advocating or sponsoring a bill, as compared with supporting or opposing a bill that has been sponsored by another organization. In order to sponsor a bill, it is essential that an organization have one individual who can develop a cordial relationship with the legislators, who understands the legislative processes, who can appraise a situation and judge what appropriate steps should be taken. This function is commonly called "lobbying," although in the minds of many legislators, the representative of a social agency may be considered a consultant on a specialized subject, sincerely representing the public interest, rather than a representative of a special interest.

The question of who should sponsor legislation must be considered. Progress may be assured by encouraging an official body to sponsor a bill which the agency supports, or vice versa. Sometimes a political party will sponsor a program. Housing bills which affect the city of New York usually cannot be passed in the legislature if they are actively opposed by the Mayor of New York City, although it cannot be said that housing legislation which is backed by him is always enacted.

The role of a private agency in securing legislation may be demonstrated by the history of a bill which was passed in 1937 after it had been before the legislature for three years. This bill broadened the city's power to demolish unfit dwellings and was originally sponsored by the Tenement House Commissioner. It received little attention from the legislature until the Committee on Housing reported on the problem and secured widespread public interest through newspaper articles. When the opposition within the legislature insisted that only one of several tenement house bills could be passed, it was necessary to compromise on the sweeping requirements of the original bill and to do some legislative trading. In this case, the demolition bill had to be sacrificed, but it was passed in a compromise form the following year.

In order to secure attention it is not sufficient for a social agency to be competent or to be supplied with all the information essential to the support of the desired measure; in addition, the organization must have the backing of enlightened public opinion which, in the

last analysis, determines what legislation shall or shall not be passed. When public opinion has supported one single piece of legislation, it may be extremely helpful in supporting similar legislation. In the year when the demolition bill was being so actively supported, a leader of the New York State Assembly, who had been impressed by the public demand for this legislation, invited us to help in drafting a housing plank for the state party convention. Through collaboration with a few socially minded platform committee members, one of whom was the president of a well-known social agency, the plank was formulated and finally nailed to the party platform, putting it squarely on record in favor of state and city aid for slum clearance and low-rent housing. The challenge was accepted by the other major political party, and it adopted a similar plank. The following winter (1937-38), the Governor convened the Constitutional Convention, which approved as Amendment No. 4 a provision permitting state and city aid for low-rent public housing and authorized a bond issue of \$300,000,000 and an annual state subsidy of \$1,000,000 for low-rent housing. These measures were approved overwhelmingly by the voters in the November election of that year. The committee helped the Constitutional Convention to formulate the housing amendment and participated as one of a number of organizations in a statewide program to inform the voters on the amendment before Election Day.

Even more common is the co-sponsorship of legislation through collaboration with the League of Women Voters, with civic clubs, or with other social agencies. The New York State Public Housing Law to effectuate the constitutional housing amendment was drafted on this basis.

The timing of action determines its effectiveness. Sometimes it is most useful to send a recommendation only at the time when a decision is likely to be made. It frequently is helpful, however, to notify the chairman of a committee as soon as possible after a bill has been introduced, since well-considered comments at that time may be more effective than after a legislator's opinion has matured. As a rule, an effort is made to get our reports into the legislators' hands as early as possible.

As a result of the committee's experience over a number of years, a careful procedure has been established preparatory to taking action on bills introduced by other groups. The following procedure was used during the 1944 legislative session:

Through a subscription to a legislative reporting service, copies of all bills affecting housing in New York City were sent to us as

soon as they were introduced, and the housing staff then prepared a "face sheet" on each bill. This is a memorandum setting forth the following data: the law and the section of the law to be amended; a digest of the bill; comment containing a description of the problem with which the bill deals; a statement of the effects of the proposed legislation; and a discussion of any special advantages or objections that have been raised.

When a bill was similar to, or identical with, one that had been introduced in previous years, the earlier reports on the bill usually provided the necessary information, and this fact was noted, together with the previous action. In the preparation of face sheets for new bills, we felt that it was important to check personally with legislators in order to secure the background of a bill, or to check with the sponsoring organizations. In order to get both sides of a story, we usually checked with the Bar Association and the tenant organizations on proposed amendments to the Civil Practice Act that would affect tenant protection; with the Real Estate Board regarding bills to revise the Multiple Dwelling Law; and with certain public housing officials or financiers in regard to bills on public housing, urban redevelopment, or building regulations. With this information on our final face sheet, a "calendar" of bills, containing a two- or three-line summary of each bill, was sent to the members of our subcommittee on legislation with an indication of the principle which would guide the committee's action on a bill.

Bills which were not similar to legislation which had been introduced in previous years were then assigned to individual members of the subcommittee on legislation for a special report, and a copy of the assigned bill itself and the face sheet were forwarded to them. The subcommittee is empowered to take a position on behalf of the full committee on all bills in accordance with a written statement of principles for action on legislation. These principles have been distilled from the action on numerous housing bills over a period of years and represent the pattern of action which has been habitually taken by our committee. Application of the principles during three legislative sessions has convinced us of their practicability.

When a bill involves a principle which has not previously been adopted by the full committee, it is referred to the full committee for action. An illustration of such a case is a bill to prohibit the granting of tax exemption to urban redevelopment projects which discriminate in the selection of tenants. This bill was the subject of a special meeting of the Committee on Housing, where it was debated and finally approved, with a minority of the committee

dissenting. However, this was the only bill out of sixty housing bills introduced in the 1944 legislative session where the attitude of the committee was not covered by our statement of principles. This legislative procedure avoids repetitious discussion, saves time, facilitates speedy and effective action, and is preferred to a long and oftentimes rambling discussion on each bill by the full committee.

As soon as the subcommittee has acted on bills, letters are sent to the chairman of the legislative committee of the New York State Legislature to which a bill has been referred, and to the legislative leaders, with a carbon copy to the legislator who introduced the bill. In these letters, the information from the face sheet is summarized, and our approval or opposition is expressed, with the reason for it. Copies of the letters on face sheets are at their request sent to the counsel, to the Governor, and to the legislator who advises the Assembly on housing matters. Letters are regularly sent regarding all major or minor bills which, in our judgment, have any chance of passage. The legislative leaders depend on our comments, together with those of others, to help them reach a decision on housing bills, many of which are of a technical character.

Letters may be followed up by informal interviews with legislators, by an appearance before legislative committees, or by securing effective testimony at public hearings. Our experience is that while hearings do not usually serve to convince a legislative committee in favor of a bill, they usually provide an opportunity for the opposition to express its views. We therefore attempt to secure as spokesmen from social and civic agencies people whose opinions carry some weight in the community.

When there is opposition by any influential groups to bills that we are sponsoring, or where we think such a bill may be considered controversial, we make a special effort to secure an expression of public backing by writing, by telephoning, or by pamphleteering in order to interest organizations in showing their support by writing, telephoning, or wiring legislative leaders. We think that this has value because the committee chairman who has a decisive voice on a bill always wants to know how much public demand there may be for the bill, especially when its advancement might alienate certain groups to whom he customarily looks for advice or support.

3. *Passive legislative activity.*—Passivity has a special place in influencing behavior in human relations. Our legislative procedure recognizes this fact, and a deliberately passive position may be taken when it is felt that no action would be effective. In accordance with our statement of principles, no action is taken on bills which:

(a) are desirable but which include a major undesirable feature which outweighs the good; (b) are inferior to another bill which would accomplish the same purpose; (c) are unreasonably restrictive, expensive, or unnecessary (such as a bill to require attendants on duty at all times in self-service elevators in multiple dwellings); (d) primarily aid a special interest; (e) do not materially affect low-rent tenement dwellers; (f) provide for changes in the Public Housing Law which appear desirable but impractical (such as a bill to provide a legal process for appeals by tenants required to move out of public housing projects); and (g) are essentially impractical (such as a bill to require fire extinguishers in public halls, where they might be stolen).

By ignoring ill-considered bills, an agency's voice will be better heard on those bills which should be taken seriously. Semipassivity may be used to modify the action in relation to a bill that the committee has voted to oppose. A case in point is a far-reaching constitutional amendment introduced in the 1944 New York legislative session that would have sabotaged the state public housing program. A possible issue was avoided on this bill by an expression of mild disapproval, and the bill was not voted out of committee. This is a striking contrast to what we now believe was misjudged opposition strongly expressed to another bill a few years ago. Our position at that time stimulated the bill's sponsors to go to great lengths to get the bill passed so that it actually reached the Governor, who fortunately vetoed it.

4. *Postlegislative activity*.—Legislation is not regarded by the Community Service Society as an end, but as a means, and we place a good deal of importance, therefore, on following through the administration of the law. Violation of the housing laws can become a source of irritation that affects the well-being of the whole family. Correction of such conditions is essential to supplement the case work or educational nursing service offered by the Society and by other agencies. At one time there may be some three hundred buildings on the committee's records which have been reported for inspection and follow-up with the city department. This forms a vital part of our work and brings us into direct touch with the Department of Housing and Buildings regarding specific conditions. A recent report submitted to the city officials recommended sixteen points for strengthening the administration of the Multiple Dwelling Law, some of which have been put into effect.

The results of the legislative action which I have described may be summarized as follows: An analysis of action by the New York

State Legislature on 485 bills introduced during the past six legislative sessions shows that ninety-six bills affecting housing in New York City were passed. The Committee on Housing opposed eight, took no action on nineteen and approved sixty-nine. None of the bills opposed was of major harm; the most serious was one to permit rooms ventilated by a 28" airshaft to be used for rooming house purposes. A large number of bills that were opposed by us went down to defeat, as well as a few that, in our judgment, should have been passed.

These methods of working with a legislative group are merely applications of some aspects of case work, group work, and community organization. It seems clear that social workers, especially in the trying times of social, economic, and political change that undoubtedly lie ahead, should be prepared to extend their area of competence to the legislative level when legislative action is a logical outgrowth of their information, skills, and experience.

SEX DELINQUENCY AS A SOCIAL HAZARD

By *ELIOT NESS*

THE SOCIAL PROTECTION PROGRAM of the Federal Security Agency was instituted in 1941 for two main purposes: to reduce venereal disease hazards to those in the armed forces and in war work; and to protect and rehabilitate women and girls who had been exposed to the hazards of disease and demoralization related to prostitution and promiscuity.

At the time the agency came into being, the country was covered by a network of red-light districts. Many of these districts had been perpetuated for several generations out of ignorance of the health menace, because of unscientific concepts of law enforcement, or, in some instances, out of doubtful civic virtue. In the short period of the Agency's existence, with the coöperation of the Army, the Navy, the United States Public Health Service, and the International Association of Chiefs of Police, nearly 675 communities changed their policies and eliminated the tolerated districts.

As originally conceived, our primary concentration was to be on the cities and areas adjacent to military camps. However, there is hardly a community in the country which does not contribute to the venereal disease problem. As the monthly roster of cities and towns reported as places of contact by military authorities comes to our attention, we sometimes feel that we are working over the index of an atlas. On the other hand, the volume of cases by localities is affected directly by the size of the cities, by their accessibility to military or naval installations, and by the adequacy of the local repression program.

Thanks to the splendid coöperation received from police chiefs and sheriffs, spearheaded by the able leadership of the National Advisory Police Committee on Social Protection, representing the International Association of Chiefs of Police and the National Sheriffs' Association, commercialized prostitution has been significantly reduced in importance as a source of the venereal diseases. The validity of repression as a health measure is attested by the fact

that coincidental with the drive to break up the prostitution racket, the Army and Navy reported in 1943 the lowest venereal disease rates in their histories.

Though the rate per thousand men has dropped, figures show that venereal casualties suffered by the Navy in 1943 were enough to have manned a fleet of twelve battleships, six carriers, twenty-four cruisers, and eighty destroyers. Army venereal disease casualties were sufficient to have formed approximately twenty-six complete combat divisions with all their attached troops.

Although no accurate figures are available to indicate the total volume of sex delinquency on a nation-wide basis, or the rate of increase caused by wartime conditions, official records do show that action is imperative. In some localities reports show the overwhelming majority of contacts to be young adult women. In others, the figures show a distressingly high percentage of girls who are not yet out of their teens. Police files from several communities reveal that from one third to two thirds of the girls detained for sex offenses are under twenty-one years of age. In one state 41.5 percent of the cases in venereal quarantine hospitals were under nineteen years of age. Recent increases of reported infection among juveniles are considerably greater than for the population as a whole. In the May Act areas (those areas placed under Federal jurisdiction by the Secretary of War because they constituted a threat to the health and welfare of the troops), it is found that girls in their teens constitute the greatest number of violators.

We regret to say that progress in the prevention of promiscuity has not yet matched achievements in the field of the repression of prostitution. The problem is, of course, more complex and requires techniques and methods of community organization beyond the dependence on law enforcement alone. By and large, the promiscuous girl is not criminally motivated, nor is she beyond reclamation as is the hardened prostitute. She is more likely to be a casual, fun-seeking girl, wanting male companionship; a young experimenter, somewhat lonely, easing her conscience by quixotic references to "patriotism"; immature in her judgment and, perhaps more important, disassociated from the stabilizing forces of family, the church, or any significant group which strengthens the individual's integrity and belief in herself.

To some extent, the problems of promiscuous girls are the products of national and local forces aggravated by war conditions. Yet there is a historical background as well. In the postwar period of World War I, some of our best writers did their utmost to debunk

the qualities of restraint. Reflecting some of the callousness and disillusionment of that era, our literature and social writings played havoc with morality. The lines between socially approved and unapproved sexual behavior tended to blur, and in the confusion, sanctions often fluctuated with the latest best-seller. Many of the parents of our present adolescents were products of that confusion and have been unable to transmit to their growing youngsters an abiding code of conduct.

The depression also played no small part in our present difficulties. The mass unemployment and its attendant effects on family life inevitably affected the morale of large numbers of our population. The deprived youngsters of that day who lived in a narrowly circumscribed economic world, in the midst of constant family distress and tension, are the young adults of today. Many of them are "burning their candles at both ends" in a feverish rush to pack in more excitement and thrills than their constitutions will allow. Perhaps the years of deprivation they experienced at a time when they were expected to build the firm sinews for future living left them somewhat scarred.

Throughout that period, if we may judge from the extent of promiscuity today, the school, the church, and the home lost ground in their efforts to establish or maintain the role which has been theirs by tradition, that of imbuing the individual with sustaining and creative values in regard to sex conduct. Consequently, we are finding today that we have a tremendous potential reservoir for disease among the younger generation whose incentives to restraint are not too well fortified. The abnormalities of social life under war conditions play into that background. In ever increasing numbers young people are becoming infected and are passing on their infections to others. They represent an immediate problem, both for their own protection and for the protection of men in service and in war work.

Program planning in regard to the prevention of venereal disease arising from promiscuity must be developed along two lines: (1) health, legal, and social services for the individuals who are already promiscuous; and (2) the creation of community forces which will protect and provide normal and healthful experiences for our young people.

In regard to the former, we have witnessed some outstanding developments in this country. Our staunchest allies have been among the police and in the medical profession. Despite terrific drains on manpower, police departments, with few exceptions, have extended

their activities magnificently to eliminate vice spots, to minimize opportunities for the exploitation of youth, and to undertake preventive measures. Likewise, the United States Public Health Service, in coöperation with state health departments, and down to the most remote local health department, has expanded its services to locate and bring infected persons under treatment. Many state legislatures have strengthened their laws to facilitate the process of locating and holding such persons long enough to have them examined and, if diseased, rendered noninfectious. These efforts, however, have not been enough. Reports show that we may not be keeping pace with new cases. Moreover, many persons, once cured, continue their promiscuity, become diseased again, infect others, and the cycle begins all over again.

There are some major weaknesses in the services to these people which nullify the work of those agencies which have been struggling valiantly to reduce the venereal disease menace. It is with regret that we must note that the courts have not been the allies that we hoped they would be. In some of the leading cities of the country, among them cities in which the volume of venereal cases is largest, the courts are negating the vigorous police programs by indiscriminate probation for chronic offenders, by casual dismissal of cases regardless of evidence of flagrant violations of ordinances or statutes, and most serious of all, by showing an increasing tendency to convict only the girl who happens to be diseased and to turn loose without restraints those who prove to be noninfected. These latter girls inevitably continue their depredations, eventually becoming infected and infecting others. In some localities judges commit girls, whose police records bulge with violations, to city or state venereal hospitals for treatment only, without regard to the courts' responsibility for the protection of the girls or of the community. We need the militant support of the courts to uphold and strengthen the legal arm of prevention, and we need the wisdom of the courts for the disposition of cases which will permit the maximum use of correctional services for individuals who need restraint and retraining.

A second major weakness in our national program derives from the general lack of adequate social services for adolescent and older promiscuous persons. In too few instances have social agencies interpreted to their communities their ability to treat the causal behavior that leads to promiscuity. The police, the health departments, and other official agencies daily come in contact with thousands of such persons. They are by the circumstances of their functions treating with these individuals on a legalistic or medical basis exclusively.

They have accelerated their programs to cope with the problems of promiscuity and disease. A comparable acceleration has not developed on the part of social agencies to make accessible their case work services to the majority of sex delinquents. These persons are treated for disease, only to be released to their communities without assistance or guidance. It is obvious that, in most cases, venereal disease is the end result of a chain of social circumstances. Unless the individuals are helped through skilled services to break the chain, only chance will retrieve them from personal disaster. This war need of the nation, plus the vast social needs of the individuals, presents a challenge to social work.

Let us grant that some of these persons who are known to the police or to the health agencies neither want nor can use the specialized services of social agencies. Let us grant that even with the most skilled practices failure to affect rehabilitation will be inevitable in a given percentage of cases. This field, however, has been only meagerly explored, for most case work agencies have taken on such cases only incidentally in their general case loads, and have not given due recognition to the vast unmet personal and war needs. Some social agencies, in communities where rapid treatment centers have been built, have expanded their services on behalf of patients committed to these hospitals, but in thousands of communities which contribute to the aggregate of cases, there is a void. Not until the social agencies establish coöperative systems of referral with police and health agencies in order to institute screening procedures for the acceptance of at least the hopeful cases, and not until the social agencies assume the major responsibility for the treatment of greater numbers of sex delinquents, can we hope for an end to recurrent infections and to reductions in the ranks of the promiscuous.

Finally, we must recognize that we need a positive and an all-embracing program for our young people, one that will recognize their basic and evolving needs, their strivings, their desire for meaningful existence and for opportunities for useful, creative, and relaxing experiences.

Obviously, the police have a prominent role to play by "cracking down" on those individuals who aid and abet the corruption of minors, but the problem will not be disposed of with a nightstick. We must help our youth to arrive at some standards in regard to their sex impulses, their relationships to the opposite sex, their responsibilities to themselves now and as future parents. We must help them erect a credo of conduct in keeping with their psycho-

logical, biological, emotional, and ethical needs. We have done so only partially to date. We have been borrowing on the code of Victorian days, which has been severely shaken in the past twenty-odd years, and we have not created one which is convincing to our youth. Our sex mores have been undergoing a serious transformation without benefit of militantly positive direction. Our youth requires an affirmative philosophy of behavior. Our cultural, educational, and religious institutions recognize this as their responsibility, but the times require a freshly enunciated pattern which will become the substance for teaching, and indoctrination in every city, town, and hamlet, and which will become a part of our cultural heritage.

A program of rehabilitative services for those who are already delinquent must be fortified by a sound and healthy community to which such persons can return. The primary requirements for a healthy environment for youth have been repeated often, even though we have yet to reach their fullest realization: protection of the disadvantaged; wholesome recreation; adequate education; general and social hygiene; correctional training; religious and ethical training; medical services; economic and social security; decent housing; adequate law enforcement; social services for those who need them; interracial, religious, and cultural harmony; and other basic factors which are identified with the American way of life.

Our young people and our unattached women and girls have been left much to their own devices in the planning for the war effort. We have not found activities in which they could contribute with all the ardor that youth experiences in the love of his country. We have skimmed on projects and facilities where youth can find absorption in creative work and leisure-time activities. Outside some group activities and vocational counseling, we have largely failed to provide specialized services for adolescents. We have expected youth to live by the standards of prewar days. Not until we recognize that our youth are worthy of the best of our resources, that the substance we give to them will determine the strength of our future, will we endow them with the qualities that will preserve them from demoralization, and, ultimately, from disease.

PUBLIC WELFARE AGENCIES IN THE SOCIAL PROTECTION PROGRAM

By ARTHUR E. FINK

THE SOCIAL PROTECTION DIVISION of the Federal Security Agency has responsibility for the development of measures to protect military personnel and war workers from contracting venereal disease in civilian communities. The Division is equally responsible for the development of services to protect young women and girls from becoming sexually promiscuous, and for the rehabilitation of those who have become known to the police because of commercial prostitution or promiscuity.

This program involves the coöperation of the Army, the Navy, the United States Public Health Service, state and local police and health departments, the courts, and all public departments or voluntary agencies that supply welfare and protective services. Certain basic conditions and services in the community are essential for the development of this program. There must be: (1) adequate laws against vice; (2) an alert and trained police department to enforce the laws; (3) adequate provisions for community health services; (4) a judiciary informed of the legal, health, and social implications of prostitution; and (5) facilities and services for the protection of youth and for the rehabilitation of young women and girls who are known to be sexually promiscuous or who have been identified with commercial prostitution.

Since the beginning of this program, red-light districts have been closed in more than seven hundred communities as a result of aggressive police action. The emphasis on repression has received the support of law-enforcement agencies and of the military services because it has produced results—results that can be measured by the reduction in the military venereal disease rate from an average of 45 per thousand in 1941 to 25.6 per thousand in 1943.

This program, in which no one agency or organization has a monopoly, calls for the total integration of all facilities and services, a joint facing of actual conditions, and the joint sharing of a program

aimed at the correction of these conditions. The police, health, and correction departments, the Alcoholic Beverage Control Board, and public and private welfare agencies must pool their resources if the needs of the community are to be met.

Historically, American communities have handled the prostitution problem in various ways: by ignoring it; by organizing periodic vice raids; by ordering women out of town; by imposing short jail sentences or small fines; by use of the suspended sentence and the quarantine of infected prostitutes for medical treatment. Each of these devices has had some value in easing the community conscience or in indicating that the situation was being met with the facilities at hand, but they did little for the prostitute, except in the area of venereal disease treatment. The woman who was fined or who endured a jail sentence emerged from the experience exactly the same woman, except possibly a little more hardened and disillusioned. The prostitute who was detained for venereal disease treatment and then dismissed was the same prostitute.

Fortunately, there is a growing acceptance of the fact that the prostitute is a person and that her difficulties are not all rooted in a physical or economic condition. There is an increased public recognition of the fact that more research and more treatment in this area are needed. We have seen that shutting a prostitute in jail for a few days or exposing her to venereal disease treatment for a few months is but an evasion of the crux of the problem. We are gradually accepting the fact that we must deal with the whole person and not only with her disease. But what does dealing with the whole person mean? What, exactly, is the meaning of rehabilitation?

Rehabilitation must start with knowledge of the individual. If we accept the psychological premise that all behavior is purposeful and has a meaning for the individual, the problem of the prostitute and of the sexually promiscuous girl must be approached from the standpoint of the motivation of human behavior. What causes a person to take up prostitution as a profession, or to become sexually promiscuous? What can be done to redirect her activities, and by what means can they be motivated toward a more desirable way of life?

To determine the needs of the individual offender requires skill, time, and the provision of services for medical, social, and psychiatric study. A significant project developed within the past several years in the psychiatric clinic attached to the San Francisco Health Department shows promise of shedding some light on the causations and motivations involved in sexually promiscuous behavior. The

clinic consists of a psychiatrist, a psychologist, and two psychiatric social workers. Referrals are routinely made to the psychiatric social worker by the clerk at the venereal disease clinic. Preliminary interviews are held, both by the psychiatric social worker and by the psychiatrist before it is determined whether or not continued psychiatric service will be useful. A series of consultations is scheduled for those who can benefit from such services. It should be noted that in addition to an interest in acquiring insight into promiscuous behavior, the psychiatric clinic is concerned with helping the patient.

Most communities with an honest desire to rid themselves of the unsavory prostitution racket and with a sincere regard for helping the prostitute, have the necessary resources and services. There is need, however, for a better coördination and a more economical use of these resources, and for a most forthright and courageous, facing of facts, both by public officials and by the public itself.

The program to provide rehabilitation services rests upon a process of selection, which begins with apprehension by the police. Young women who are apprehended should be brought to the police station. Those who are known to the police or who are obviously confirmed offenders should be held for court action. If commitment to a penal institution is provided by the law, such a commitment should follow only if, in the opinion of the court, the individual could not profit by probationary supervision. Some individuals may be able to benefit from a probationary period during which they may be directed into more constructive ways of life. However, the court will require the skilled services of a probation officer whose pre-sentence investigation should develop sufficient knowledge about the offender to support a recommendation for probation or commitment. If the convicted person is infected with a venereal disease and is committed to a penal institution, medical treatment may be provided at that institution. If the individual who is placed on probation is infected, provision can be made for treatment through her private physician, or in a clinic at the local health department, or at a rapid treatment center.

In any event, a clear distinction should be made between disposition of the person according to the offense and the penalty provided for such an offense, and disposition because of the presence of venereal disease. In some courts there has been a tendency to place venereally infected individuals under treatment in a rapid treatment center, regardless of the offense. In many such instances the person is released when rendered noninfectious. Actually, this

means a substitution of medical treatment for penal-corrective treatment, and in practically every instance the procedure fails to reach the individual's fundamental behavior difficulty.

Experience has shown, in the light of our present inadequate knowledge about behavior, that there are some individuals, such as the confirmed prostitute, for whom correctional treatment has not been particularly helpful. Experience has also shown that, even with our inadequate knowledge, some individuals in this group can and do receive help within a correctional institution, provided the commitment period is long enough. By the same token, there is such a thing as keeping an individual too long within an institution and thereby sacrificing rehabilitation possibilities.

A number of persons who come to the attention of the police, particularly in areas near army camps or war industries, are not confirmed prostitutes but girls who have been attracted by the excitement, the lure of the military, or the prospect of well-paid jobs. Many have run away from the boredom of their home towns, or from their families—or even from themselves. Girls of this type should not be herded with the confirmed offenders. There is need at this point for a suitable interview at the police station to determine whether to hold the girl overnight, or to release her to her family. A girl from out of town who has suitable living quarters might well be permitted to forego the experience of remaining overnight at the police station. An interview by a policewoman or a welfare worker would assist the police chief in making suitable disposition of such cases. On the following day, a further follow-up of each girl should be made to find out, among other things, whether she is venereally infected. If the girl is infected, it will be necessary to make arrangements for her to receive treatment. If there are indications that she will need continuing help in becoming rehabilitated, the chief of police could well look to the social service agencies for assistance. In fact, he might very well expect the social agencies to exercise much more initiative than is usual in getting in touch, and keeping in touch, with a girl while she is in need of help.

There are instances in which referrals of venereally infected persons are made to the county health department or in which the local county health officer has traced individuals known to be sources of infection. Such infected individuals should not be treated as criminals; they should be recognized as persons suffering from an infectious disease and should be treated medically upon that basis. However, many of these individuals present more than a medical

problem. There may be personality difficulties which have a direct relation on their activities and the infection which came from them. A number of clinics have seen the advantage of making counseling and case work services available to such individuals at the clinic. The San Francisco psychiatric clinic is an example of such a highly specialized service. Not all services are so specialized, however, and many other venereal disease clinics have used workers who may have backgrounds in medical social work, family case work, psychiatric case work, or public welfare. In some instances these workers are able to give help directly so far as personality difficulties are concerned, or to supply material relief or assistance in working out job and living arrangements. On the other hand, they may make a referral to an agency which offers specialized services, such as a psychiatric clinic or a behavior clinic.

The following cases illustrate the variety of problems with which individuals are faced:

Louise, a sixteen-year-old girl, was forbidden by her father to associate with young people. She defiantly married a boyhood friend, but her parents had the marriage annulled. At this point Louise ran away to a large town, where she got a job as a waitress. At the time of her apprehension, she was being picked up by a sailor at a bus station. After staying overnight at the precinct station, she was taken to the local health clinic for examination, with the prospect of spending the weekend in jail. Because of the girl's youth the doctor asked the clinic social worker to assist her. After hearing her story and discovering that Louise really wanted to go home, the worker prevailed upon the Travelers Aid Association to take over her parole and to contact her family. After she was given a medical release, Louise returned to her family and re-entered high school. Child welfare consultation service through the state department of public welfare was made available to the family, and Louise and her father are making a satisfactory mutual adjustment.

Jean and a fifteen-year-old girl had run away from home to escape an intolerable family life. The younger girl had planned to visit relatives in the city and Jean hoped to find work. They paid for their transportation and lodging with sexual relations. It was not until the younger girl asked the police to help her look for her relatives that the two girls were apprehended. Jean was sentenced to the workhouse for thirty days for contributing to the delinquency of a minor, and the younger girl was turned over to the juvenile authorities. When interviewed at the police station, Jean appeared to be thoroughly ashamed, but maintained that she would not go

home under any circumstances. She asserted that she wished to find respectable employment and become independent. The judge agreed to place her on probation if a recognized social agency would assume the responsibility. The Girls' Protective Association did so and boarded her in their club while investigating her home. It was found that the girls were entirely justified in seeking an escape from strict and intolerant parents. Jean has since been placed in the home of a young couple where she works as a domestic. Her behavior pattern has changed, and she shows evidence of being a normal and healthy individual.

Alice and Joan, twenty and twenty-two years of age, were arrested in a tavern with soldiers. They denied promiscuous behavior although Alice had been arrested before. It was found that both girls were employed at respectable jobs and received adequate incomes, but they had been forbidden to entertain their "dates" at home, because their parents were ashamed of their cramped living conditions. The girls' mother was invited to the clinic for an interview, where she showed a great deal of interest in, and understanding of, the situation. Arrangements were made so that the living quarters at home could allow the girls a place for entertaining their friends; community recreational facilities were also discussed. The clinic social worker felt that the mother and girls would be able to work things out together, and the case was closed.

The rapid treatment center, of which much has been written, is primarily a medical institution which focuses its attention upon venereal diseases. The purpose of the center is to render venereally diseased persons noninfectious. It is not intended to be a penal institution, nor is it intended that courts should refer to it individuals who have been convicted upon definite charges and who require corrective treatment. Some rapid treatment centers are operated directly by the United States Public Health Service; others are operated by a state board of health, or by a county board of health with the assistance of additional funds.

Experience with the rapid treatment centers throughout the country has demonstrated the necessity for an adequate referral by the county health department as well as self-referral by the infected person. In a number of instances arrangements for referring cases to the centers have been worked out between the county health department and the county welfare department or private social agencies. This has made it possible for the welfare agencies to provide services related to the job, home, or children of the persons going to the rapid treatment centers. Service is also available within the institu-

tion for patients who need assistance in making the necessary adaptations, particularly to prepare them for discharge. Much of this work is in the hands of a "placement officer," or is taken care of by a medical social worker attached to the staff.

In view of the shorter period of treatment for gonorrhea and syphilis made possible by the use of the sulfa drugs and penicillin, greater emphasis has had to be placed upon restoring the patient to community life. This has meant help in getting jobs, in making adequate living arrangements, and in providing such specialized assistance as the individual may need with any personality difficulties. In a number of states, arrangements have been worked out between the rapid treatment center and the local social agencies whereby referrals are made to the local agencies when a patient is discharged from an institution. The following is a case in point:

Nineteen-year-old Susie was defiant and frightened at being sent to the isolation hospital for treatment. After several talks with the girl, the social worker found that life had not been kind to Susie. She had had to leave school in the eighth grade and go to work. Her father deserted his family, and there were five younger brothers and sisters at home for Susie to care for. After several years of housework, the girl left home and got a job as a waitress. The town was full of good-looking soldiers and sailors who were anxious to show a girl a good time—and Susie's misdirected efforts to do her part in building their morale resulted in her contracting venereal disease. Besides receiving medical treatment at the hospital, Susie was taught to operate the switchboard and worked as a "page." It was a new experience for Susie to find herself accepted. When she was dismissed from the hospital, Susie had a better understanding of her physical condition, and realized that her ideas of building morale for the Army were pretty well distorted. Susie was referred to the family welfare society for help in getting a job at a war plant and advice in finding a place to live and for further guidance in understanding her problems.

A word of caution is appropriate here. Our present knowledge of behavior, particularly the behavior of the prostitute or of the sexually promiscuous person, is extremely limited. Even with the most skillful selective job, there are many individuals who have not been or cannot be helped. However, it seems the better part of wisdom for social work to concentrate its skills and energies upon those individuals who seem to have the greatest possibilities of benefiting from assistance. Perhaps this may seem to be a small number, but it is well to bear in mind that the service to this

few should be well done and should form the basis for an increasing number of skills so that more and more people can be assisted in making effective use of their lives.

Where in this rehabilitation program can public welfare participate? How can public welfare departments coöperate with police, health departments, courts, and voluntary agencies in the social protection program? While county and municipal departments of public welfare differ widely in their function and standards of practice, and in their various war programs, including social protection, certain characteristics apply to most of them, whether they operate in a rural or a metropolitan area. Organized predominantly on the county district or regional plan, the public welfare department is the most extensive of all social agencies and functions in practically every city and county. Because of this and because of the fact that it is an integral part of local governmental structure, the public welfare department is the social agency around which effective community planning can be organized. It is in a strategic position to narrow the existing area of separation between courts, police, and social agencies.

In the less highly organized areas the department of public welfare might well provide interviewing services for police departments and social studies for the court prior to sentence. In such communities the workers in a public welfare department have a real service to offer young people who are known to the venereal disease clinic. It is often at this point that the young woman, through proper assistance and guidance, can be deflected from socially destructive patterns.

Another group of interest to the public welfare agency, and a group which furnishes fertile grounds for recruiters of the vice rings, are adolescent girls who have been discharged from institutions or boarding homes and are alone in the world. Where after-care supervision is not supplied by the voluntary agency, how far can the services of the public agency be extended to this group?

A careful scrutiny of the case loads of the various public assistance categories and child welfare services would bring to light potential, or even well-identified, social protection problems. If each worker were to review her case load in terms of the young people between the ages of thirteen and twenty-one, with a view to counting the number of interviews she has had alone with these adolescents, she would probably discover the number to be infinitesimal. What is happening to these young people now under our care? What do they think? What do they want to do? How are they going to do it?

How can we help them? These are questions that every worker in a public welfare agency must ask herself.

Social workers have a real stake in this area of behavior, in which there is a dearth of usable knowledge. If we are perfectly frank with ourselves, we must admit that we have developed few skills in this field. We must also admit that as a profession, and as workers, we have sidestepped these behavior difficulties as they have been presented by clients. At a time when a greater number of persons in this category need our help and are brought to our attention, we are at a distinct disadvantage. We face the necessity of increasing our knowledge and our skill and of changing our attitudes. We need to accelerate our "helping" program. We need greater flexibility in workers and in agencies.

In the social protection program four main services have been noted: military; law enforcement; health; and welfare. The policy announced by the War and Navy Departments which calls for the repression of prostitution is a pronounced step forward. The results achieved by the law-enforcement officers throughout the country in closing red-light districts and in developing techniques for dealing with unorganized prostitution have been a tremendous step forward. The developments in the medical field have revolutionized the treatment of gonorrhea and syphilis. In these three fields, practice has moved to a higher level. Social work needs to face its knowledge and its achievements frankly, and ask what its contribution has been.

REHABILITATION UNDER THE BARDEN- LA FOLLETTE ACT

By MICHAEL J. SHORTLEY

AMONG THE MEASURES coming within the general framework of conservation and social security are those which provide for the rehabilitation of the disabled. The philosophy underlying vocational rehabilitation is based upon the premise that the democratic way of life demands equal opportunity for all citizens and that it requires the contribution of each citizen in proportion to his capacity.

Most disabled persons can work efficiently if they are prepared for jobs that are compatible with their physical condition, aptitudes, and abilities. A man with a leg amputation can do anything at a bench or desk that an able-bodied man of equal skill can do. A man with an arm amputation may still be a competent salesman, draftsman, or lawyer—to mention but a few of the occupations that are open to him. The deaf person is handicapped only in communication and not in the skilled use of mind and hands. The blind compensate for their loss of vision by quickened perception, power of concentration, and manual dexterity. In fact, nearly every disabled person retains far more vocational assets than are lost through his impairments, and it is only necessary to develop his remaining skills and capacities, through physical restoration and vocational training, to the point of economic usefulness. Frequently, the very fact of impairment acts as a spur to accomplishment when the individual realizes that he may compensate for the defect and gain success in certain types of activity.

An obvious result of rehabilitation, which might be termed an implied purpose, is that in restoring a disabled person to independence in productive work, the state lifts the individual and his family from despondency into contented, self-respecting citizenship. Society also benefits through the utilization of talents and abilities that the nation cannot afford to waste.

We view a physical handicap as a difference possessed by some

persons which, though limiting them physically, need not limit them vocationally. Complete physical perfection is rare, if it is not a theoretical standard which no one actually achieves. Every person has physical characteristics which may limit his accomplishments in certain fields, and a person's capacity to work is not the result of anatomical make-up alone. Native ability, personality, and training all contribute to productivity. The dimensions of our problem are, therefore, estimated in terms of all handicapped persons whose employability can be improved; stressing not the mere earning of a livelihood as the final goal, but the reincorporation of the disabled as creative and responsible members of society.

There are no reliable data on the current number of disablements from all causes. It is equally difficult to be exact as to the number of persons who need rehabilitation services before satisfactory employment can be possible. Nevertheless, a backlog of 2,000,000 persons, potentially employable if rehabilitated, was revealed by the United States Public Health Service National Health Survey in 1935. In spite of the advances in safety practices and medical science, the ranks of the disabled constantly increase. Normally, 800,000 persons are seriously injured each year, and 100,000,000 persons yearly are so severely disabled as to require special services to render them employable. These facts we know. Allowing for changes that may have altered both the incidence of disablement and the total number of disabled in the population, we estimate conservatively that there are now 1,500,000 persons for whom rehabilitation services are needed.

Another basic consideration in the rehabilitation program is the prevalence of certain types of physical defects which present problems in placement. The National Institute of Health estimates that there are in the United States 133,000 totally blind persons and upward of 425,000 persons who are blind in one eye. Approximately 65,000 persons are totally deaf; 60,000 are mutes; and 1,547,000 are classified as hard of hearing. Some 3,700,000 suffer from a cardiac condition; 680,000 have tuberculosis; and 2,500,000 are afflicted with orthopedic handicaps. The extent of mental disabilities is indeterminate, although indicative of the prevalence of mental and nervous disorders are the 638,000 beds in mental hospitals, exceeding the total number of general hospital beds. Further indices are found in the 106,000 first admissions for mental illness in 1940, and in the steady increase of admissions since that time.

You will recall that the rehabilitation of the civilian disabled was first recognized as a legal obligation of government in the passage of

the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1920. The Social Security Act of 1935 carried the stabilizing provision for a continuous service. With this legislation, all forty-eight states, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico undertook a vocational rehabilitation program which, though limited in funds and services, rehabilitated 210,000 persons prior to July, 1943. The average cost per case was \$300, a nonrecurring expenditure that contrasts with the \$300 to \$500 required each year to maintain a dependent person at public expense. The average yearly earnings of these disabled persons rose from \$139 before rehabilitation to \$1,547 after rehabilitation. Eighty-five percent of these persons were not working when rehabilitation began; 31 percent had never been employed.

The results of these pioneer years represent a small inroad into the potential case load of handicapped persons. Most importantly, they furnish a solid basis of experience in rehabilitation on which to build a more comprehensive program.

Recognizing the limitations of the legislation and the unmet needs of the disabled, as well as their potentiality as a reservoir of untapped manpower, the Congress in July, 1943, enacted a series of amendments to the Vocational Rehabilitation Act in Public Law No. 113, known as the Barden-La Follette Act. Under its provisions, the mentally as well as the physically handicapped may be aided. Moreover, the blind may be rehabilitated on the same terms as other groups of the disabled. There is specific provision for war-disabled civilians, including merchant seamen who have been injured in line of duty; and services are available to men and women discharged by the armed forces with nonservice-connected disabilities who are not eligible to vocational rehabilitation under the Veterans Administration's program.

Federal fiscal provisions are considerably liberalized by the act in the removal of a fixed ceiling on Federal funds to carry out the program. The Federal Government is permitted to assume all necessary state administrative costs. Medical diagnosis and treatment, vocational training, and the costs of similar services for the usual group of handicapped persons are shared equally by state and Federal governments; while services for war-disabled civilians receive full Federal reimbursement.

The most significant provision authorizes the use of Federal funds for the handicapped so that they may as nearly as possible approximate normal work capacity. This provision vitalizes the rehabilitation axiom, "never train around a disability that can be remedied," and rounds out vocational rehabilitation services for a realistic

attack on the problems of disablement. Medicine, psychiatry, surgery, physical therapy, occupational therapy, and vocational training are invaluable tools, a hundred times more valuable when used to complement each other.

Through the coöperative Federal-state plan, the operation of the program rests with the state boards of vocational education. Vocational rehabilitation for the blind is provided by the state commissions or agencies for the blind where legal authority exists for rendering such services; otherwise, rehabilitation for the visually handicapped becomes a function of the state rehabilitation agency. The Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, a constituent unit of the Federal Security Agency, is responsible for the establishment of standards in the various areas of service; for technical assistance to the states; and for certification of Federal funds for grants-in-aid to the states upon the approval of state plans for vocational rehabilitation which meet the Federal requirements. Special assistance is furnished the states by regional offices, conforming to the general pattern of agency organization.

The policy of using existing public and private facilities and of utilizing all resources has been adopted, rather than creating new facilities or attempting to equip the Federal agency for the total job. The program establishes no special works projects. Instead, training is obtained from public and private schools, from vocational training courses, and from in-service training. No medical centers or hospitals are established. Diagnoses and treatment are secured from practicing physicians, and hospital care, public and private hospitals. No "made work" is provided; employment is found in private business and in government on the customary basis.

Professional guidance for the program is available in two national committees: the Rehabilitation Advisory Council, composed of outstanding representatives of business and industry, labor, medicine, social welfare, and other interests closely allied to the problems of rehabilitation; and the Professional Advisory Committee, representing the medical specialties most actively concerned.

Since rehabilitation is a highly personalized service, we use clinical methods of case work to formulate and carry out plans for an individual's rehabilitation. These plans include nine integral factors, all or part of which may be required for successful adjustment:

1. Early location of persons in need of rehabilitation to prevent the disintegrating effects of idleness and hopelessness
2. Medical diagnosis and prognosis coupled with a vocational diagnosis as the basis for determining an appropriate plan for the individual

3. Vocational counseling to select suitable fields of work by relating occupational capacities to job requirements and community occupational opportunities
4. Medical and surgical treatment to afford physical restoration and medical advice in the type of training to be given and in the work tolerance of the individual
5. Physical and occupational therapy and psychiatric treatment as a part of medical treatment where needed
6. Vocational training to furnish new skills where physical impairments incapacitate for normal occupations, or where skills have become obsolete
7. Financial assistance to provide maintenance and transportation during training
8. Placement in employment to afford the best use of abilities and skills in accordance with the individual's physical condition and temperament, with due regard to safeguarding against further injuries
9. Follow-up on performance in employment to afford adjustments that may be necessary; to provide further medical care if needed; and to supplement training if desired

Physical examination, counseling, training, and placement are available at no cost to the disabled. Medical treatment, transportation, maintenance, instructional supplies, and occupational tools and equipment are provided without cost if necessary.

There are certain limitations with respect to physical restoration services. In the first place, the services must be expected substantially to reduce or entirely to eliminate the employment handicaps. Moreover, treatment may only be given for conditions which are "static." It is clear that this term was intended by the Congress to differentiate the conditions to be treated under this program from ordinary acute illness or injury. We do not feel that it was intended to mean that we must await the end results of a long-term illness before starting services. For example, it would not be necessary to await the onset of total blindness before a person with glaucoma could be treated under this program. Hospitalization is limited to a period of ninety days for any one disability. This limitation was clearly intended to distinguish our program from those providing long-term care for chronic illness.

In establishing the program the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation has sought advice, both from within the Government and from outside. By agreement with the Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, our medical section is directed by medical officers assigned from the Service. In time, we hope, other medical

officers will be assigned to carry responsibility for us in specialized fields.

Aid to the states is given by our medical officers, who draw heavily on the Professional Advisory Committee's recommendations. We also encourage the states to look to the medical and allied professions for advice through the formation of state professional advisory committees and through appropriate medical consultation in their day-to-day operations to insure that our standards will conform to the high professional standards of the national and state medical associations and the hospital associations. The continuous service that binds the various rehabilitation services into a comprehensive plan for individual adjustment is that of counsel and advisement. Age, education, mental and physical capacities, background experience, and self-determination are factors which need to be weighed individually since no two persons are wholly alike or react in the same manner to any given program. The key to successful rehabilitation lies in weighing each case constructively to determine what are the residual abilities on which to build. Interwoven in the rehabilitation process is the importance of translating into nontechnical language the essential facts that have been brought to light by analysis, so that the disabled person may rightfully share in determining and carrying out a plan that will capitalize his assets and minimize his liabilities. Counseling must be so sympathetic that a problem is seen through the eyes of the disabled; and so objective that errors of judgment are recognized and counteracted by intelligent evaluation.

In the areas of occupational diagnosis and orientation—and in certain types of vocational, social, and attitudinal problems—our counselors are the specialists, although they call upon other specialists for assistance with concomitant problems. For instance, a counselor must be able to interpret the reports of medical officers for the integration of physical restoration services in terms of vocational adjustment; while the medical officers are the specialists in physical reconstruction. Similarly, with regard to placement services, it is necessary to distinguish between the clinical counselor and the placement counselor.

Rehabilitation counseling requires familiarity with many phases of knowledge. His concern may be with training and education, yet he is not a teacher. He may make use of psychological tests and measurements, and of psychiatry, without being a psychologist or a psychiatrist. He must be familiar with the regulations and risks of industry, without being a factory inspector. In a word, a rehabilita-

tion counselor must know when to call upon other services and how to use them.

The rehabilitation of the disabled impinges upon many fields at the point where the related programs come together. Therefore, we rely upon the development of coöperative agreements to correlate activities and to avoid wasteful duplication of services. In the Federal agencies, these agreements are statements of certain basic principles to be translated into working arrangements within the state. Covered in these agreements are three desirable elements of coöperation, namely, the interchange of information and experience; maximum use of all facilities; and mutual referral of cases. Each agreement provides for safeguarding the confidential nature of information; there is a proviso, also, for working out, by mutual consideration, such other coöperative measures as local conditions may require.

Among the agreements already in effect are those with the United States Employment Service of the War Manpower Commission; with the United States Public Health Service and the United States Civil Service Commission; with the Bureau of Old Age and Survivors Insurance and Public Assistance of the Social Security Board; with the United States Veterans Administration; with the War Shipping Administration; with the United States Employees' Compensation Commission; and with the Children's Bureau and the Wage and Hour Administration of the Department of Labor.

Close relations have existed for many years between the state rehabilitation agencies and the state industrial commissions, the state crippled children's societies, the state tuberculosis and hard-of-hearing associations, and the state agencies for the blind, the latter of which are now a part of our operating forces. We hope to establish relationships with other voluntary agencies in our expanded program.

We shall need every assistance in locating disabled persons who are in need of our services. Data on the personal, social, medical, and psychological background of individuals must be obtained from many sources for case histories and studies in the field of rehabilitation. It is often necessary to adjust or to eliminate, if possible, personal or home factors which may interfere with satisfactory rehabilitation. This, we feel, can best be accomplished with the aid of associated social agencies. Under our program, maintenance is provided on the basis of need for persons who are receiving training. Here again, coöperation is important since maintenance must sometimes be arranged for the individual's family during the rehabilita-

tion period. Programs for the disabled who must be employed under sheltered conditions are another service that we can share. We can also work together effectively in services to crippled children, designed to direct their entire treatment toward providing a vocation when the working age is attained.

Of fundamental importance is complete understanding of the role of vocational rehabilitation in the adjustment of social problems. The coöperating agencies' interpretation of the rehabilitation process and purpose is essential to the effective use of these services whenever they are a part of the solution of individual problems.

The methods of vocational rehabilitation have been thoroughly tested. In the twenty-five years since the initiation of the service, the public has, year by year, more fully accepted the rehabilitation concept. Every rehabilitated person has been a demonstration to some community and to some employer of the satisfactory utilization of the physically handicapped who are carefully prepared and selectively placed. A more comprehensive test has been made by certain industries, such as the Ford Motor Company, the Western Electric Company, the Caterpillar Tractor Company, and the major aircraft plants, which have employed substantial numbers of rehabilitated workers for more than ten years.

With the emergency manpower shortage, the extensive use of the physically handicapped is a demonstration on a national scale of the effective utilization of workers whose physical impairments cover the gamut of disabilities. According to the National Association of Manufacturers, 83 percent of the nation's industries are now employing disabled people in jobs that range from aircraft manufacture and shipbuilding to watch repairing; while 26,000 disabled men and women, 365 of whom are blind, have entered the Federal service in the past sixteen months under the guidance of the Coördinating Committee of the United States Civil Service Commission. That the disabled have made good in war jobs, with a remarkably favorable record as to production, absenteeism, labor turnover, and freedom from accidents, is revealed in a recent study made in 117 major industries from Connecticut to California. Employers everywhere are discovering that the handicapped are not handicapped at work for which they are suited and that their ability range is as great as that of the so-called "normal" workers.

To the fullest extent possible with the reorganization of our program, the mobilization of disabled workers for war jobs is our objective today. In 1944, the active case load of disabled persons who are receiving rehabilitation services is 91,000. The states esti-

mate that this number will rise to 110,000 with the fiscal year of 1945. Although these figures indicate a greatly accelerated tempo, the program, in the apt phrase of Mr. Churchill, is "at the end of the beginning."

It is apparent that the period of demobilization and readjustment will present a vast and intricate problem that will have a far-reaching effect on the American people. It is a *human* problem, whose solution requires that we explore the needs of all—able-bodied and disabled alike—if we are to find in peacetime pursuits work at fair pay for everyone who can work. Our long-range planning is, therefore, based upon developing our immediate procedures as the foundation of a sound national policy which will assure our disabled citizens their full opportunity for achievement.

CONSTRUCTIVE FEDERAL-STATE RELATIONSHIPS

I: FROM THE STATE VIEWPOINT

By PAUL V. BENNER

SURELY NOW, of all times in our history, there is need for clarification of functions, postulation of purpose, unity of endeavor, and coöperative, constructive relationships between the various units of government. It is manifest that the various levels of government must function in harmony if our society is to serve the common good.

It is obvious that there are many agencies of government which involve Federal-state relationships. The programs of these agencies vary as to function, responsibility, and financing. Unquestionably, these variations would influence the type of relationship existing between the two units of government. It would appear that a program of Federal grants-in-aid to states, requiring the state to carry the major responsibility for determining policies, standards, and procedures, could involve a different Federal-state relationship than one based upon an allocation of Federal funds determined by statutory formula with the Federal Government relating with the state only in an advisory capacity.

In public assistance the state has the right to determine whether it will receive grants from the Federal Government. If the state voluntarily elects to receive such assistance, it must follow that the state enters into a partnership with the Federal Government in developing a program designed to meet the needs of the state. Under such an arrangement the state immediately assumes major responsibility for making partnership effective and opens the door to supervision from the Federal agency. In accepting the arrangement both units of government assume great responsibility for the success of the program.

Moreover, in electing to receive Federal assistance, the state unquestionably must recognize the Federal provisions under which

funds can be allocated; and in a contractual relationship with the Federal Government the state must agree to certain mandatory provisions. This means that the Federal Government will assume some authority on matters of policy, on standards of performance, and on administration in order to be assured that Federal funds are being expended according to the provisions of the Federal act. Several states have found an authoritative approach difficult to accept, but undoubtedly by using direct action the Federal Government has done much to improve our public welfare administration.

Two experiences of the Kansas State Board of Social Welfare have been helpful to us from a long-time point of view. We were rather slow in getting our merit system under way and were somewhat reluctant to enforce certain provisions. Direct action from the Federal agency helped us to realize our responsibilities. The legislature did not see fit, in the 1941 session, to make provision for respecting the confidential nature of records, but when it became apparent that Federal funds would no longer be available if we continued our practice of publishing the names of recipients and the amounts of their awards, we were able to make the necessary changes in our regulations and to conform with the Federal act. We have profited by such drastic methods and we have made immediate progress which possibly would otherwise have taken years to achieve.

If a state feels that the Federal Government is assuming a dictatorial attitude, is making impossible demands, and is unreasonable in its approach, it may withdraw from the partnership at any time. The Federal Government also has the right to withdraw if the state fails to comply with the mandatory provisions under which Federal funds are allocated. These points are basic to a clear understanding of the relationship between the two agencies.

Since the state must carry the major responsibility for the partnership, it would be well to explore some of these responsibilities and to comment also concerning the responsibility of the Federal Government.

The Federal agency has a right to expect and to demand that the state agency employ competent and adequate personnel. Good administration is achieved only where there is a well-trained, adequate staff whose members are privileged to operate with a degree of authority and freedom. Not every state can meet the same standards; however, a state should be expected to provide the best personnel available and should make an effort to raise personnel standards at every opportunity. It is assumed that all the states know what back-

ground of education and experience is necessary in order to have an efficient and effective administration.

The state agency, on the other hand, has the right to expect the Federal agency to provide adequately trained personnel to the state. While the connotation of supervision stresses an interchange of ideas, it also assumes that the individual who is being supervised has a right to expect that the supervisor shall be prepared, from the standpoint of content and leadership ability, to give direction. Certainly this principle merits application in the relationship between representatives of the state and of the Federal agency.

Furthermore, no worth-while, lasting relationship can be developed unless the representatives of the two agencies have mutual respect. Their negotiations must be frank and honest and each must have confidence in the other. Both the state and the Federal agency have a two-way responsibility to improve constantly the standards and practices of the state agency. In some instances, the initiative will be assumed by the Federal representative; in others, the state will offer suggestions for improvement. Both agencies, of course, must operate within an established framework, and, as a result, it may be that some proposals cannot be accepted immediately. The state does, however, have an obligation to consider seriously all suggestions made by the Federal agency. The state agency is entitled to know, moreover, why specific suggestions are made; the improvements to be expected if the suggestions are accepted; and how the suggestions can be best incorporated into state practice. If we are not given at least this much, we certainly have a right to question the validity of the recommendations. The Federal agency representatives are no more blessed than are we with divine guidance, but they do have the advantage of an objective point of view. They have access to information which we may not have, such as a knowledge of practices in other states and the experiences of other states, as well as the benefit of the counsel specialists in the Washington office. We, on the other hand, have an intimate knowledge of our own state and we are in a position to analyze Federal proposals in relation to current practice, community attitudes, and fiscal conditions, as well as to measure their effect on our total operations. Because we must consider practical problems, it is not always possible to go so far or so rapidly as the Federal agency would like; when this is so, the Federal agency should be given valid reasons rather than flimsy excuses for the state's inability to follow suggestions. A general attitude of rejection or the development of a defense mechanism in order to resist Federal interest, without any evaluation on the part

of the state agency, will block the development of a good working relationship.

In our experience, suggestions made by Federal representatives have been helpful. The material developed on fair hearings was most useful to us in changing our procedures. The liberal interpretation in regard to eligibility requirements for aid to dependent children improved our practice considerably and extended coverage to more children. The relaxing of acceptable age verifications for old age assistance saved us considerable administrative time and expense. However, in certain areas in which we have asked for suggestions, we have not received as much help as we had desired: budgeting for farm families; establishment of criteria for guidance of staff members in regard to what is or what is not appreciable income; and the use of collaterals and relative responsibility. I am convinced that the Federal agency does give careful consideration to the proposals it makes to the states and that the states could improve their practices by adopting many of the suggestions after testing them, both in the state and in the local agencies, to determine their feasibility. The Federal agency representatives can offer inspiration, leadership, and stimulation in the development of a sound public assistance program, and we can profit immeasurably if they will keep us informed on current developments and on new concepts and principles, and will assist us in formulating new ideas and attitudes about our jobs and our responsibilities. Whether or not we get this help rests largely with us.

The administrative review may be used as an illustration of the development of our relationships. When the first annual report was presented, we were skeptical of the findings. We believed that the small sample of cases scheduled, as well as the few counties reviewed (less than 7 percent in the state), could not possibly reveal a true picture. We believed that conditions were not so bad as the annual report indicated. Consequently, we made a state-wide review of cases in all counties in order to convince ourselves as well as to provide a basis for state supervision and planning. We found, somewhat to our embarrassment, that the major findings of the administrative review were valid. We are now attempting to use the review in our supervision of local units and to use the reports in the improvement of state practices and policies.

We have found it helpful to have a copy of the review findings in advance of the discussions with Federal representatives. During the discussions the major points are explored. Often general points are raised in regard to agency practices, such as the budgeting of

home produce, case recording, right of fair hearing, intake procedures, forms and their simplification, strengths and weaknesses of state supervision, presentation of the findings to the local agency, relationships with the local agency, and financing. Obviously, the discussions are to the mutual advantage of the representatives of both agencies.

The Federal representatives are interested in knowing, of course, whether the state in its practice is complying with the regulations. We include in our reports to the Federal agency, in addition to case clearance, our method of presentation, some discussion on the acceptance or rejection of the findings by the local agency, plans made for improvement, and a tentative prognosis on future developments. We understand that this material is useful to the Federal agency in giving it a better understanding of state problems as well as assisting it in offering general supervision to the state agency. We are of the opinion that the review is useful to the state in evaluating its operation and the way in which that operation affects those whom the program is designed to serve.

After our case review it was obvious that we needed to improve our practices. The Federal representatives promised to assist us in any area possible. Consultant services was available if and when we needed it. The important principle is that the state must first recognize that there is something wrong or that its practices need improving before the Federal agency can be of much help. The Federal agency and the state agency must bring to each other's attention, problems in which they have a mutual interest, and it follows that the Federal agency can be of help only to the degree to which the state agency seeks and uses such assistance. The converse of this principle is also true.

To illustrate these principles, our own experience again may be used. It was agreed that we needed to rewrite our public assistance manual. We had ideas as to what we wanted included; the Federal representatives had ideas as to what we should include. Eventually we reached a common point of view. The Federal representatives were helpful in outlining the various chapters and in collecting the data. There is no doubt that we were able to save time, to take short cuts, and to have generally a better finished product because of the findings and suggestions given by the Federal representatives. In attempting to develop more adequate assistance standards as well as material for the needs and resource section of our manual, we were given valuable consultant service by two persons from the Washington office. Our experience is probably no different from

that of any state. If a state agency desires to improve its practices, the Federal agency representatives will do everything they can to make available all the resources of the Federal agency. In this area again the chief responsibility of working out relationships rests with the state.

The fact that the two agencies are interested in the same objectives is sufficient reason for their respective representatives to be straightforward in their dealings. The state agency has an obligation to make available to the Federal representatives reports, board minutes, memoranda, and other information of mutual interest. This material should be given to the Federal agency voluntarily and without specific request. The state agency should present all the material available to point out the need for improvement in operation, needed changes in legislation, case material to show unmet needs, or examples of good work by local agencies. Studies made in or by local agencies are a helpful contribution to understanding and planning. Moreover, they also give the local agency a feeling of importance and of belonging. It should be remembered that the function of the regional representative is not to find fault with the state agency, but to be helpful to the state by thoroughly discussing its problems. In fact, a state's problems are those of the regional representative, and he can only be successful in his function by having understanding, knowledge, and appreciation of the state. When such a level is reached, the opinions, judgments, and decisions of each agency representative can be carefully deliberated, weighed, and measured. From such an approach, worth-while and valid conclusions can be drawn. Each agency has a contribution to make, and it is only by a sincere sharing of experiences that it is possible.

The state agency has a responsibility to accept and follow the administrative channels established by the Federal agency; the Federal agency has the same responsibility toward the state. The state agency would be extremely resentful if the Federal agency carried on direct negotiations with a local unit. Yet some of us feel that it is the prerogative and constitutional right of the state agency to go directly to Washington with our problems or, in some instances, with our demands. It is obvious that such a practice will net us nothing. We would not expect the Federal agency to give us a decision without consultation with the regional representative. If the Federal representative believes in the integrity of the state; if there has been a sharing of information and experiences of mutual concern; and if the state has followed suggestions agreed upon in

the partnership, there is no doubt that the Federal representative will present an accurate and objective picture of the state and its problems to the Washington agency.

It would seem highly desirable for the Federal agency to recognize that the regional representative is not solely responsible for constructive Federal-state relationships or the lack of them. Probably all states have the same criticism in regard to Washington's failure to make up its collective mind and to render a decision. The public assistance program is dynamic; it is constantly growing and changing. What is good practice today may be bad practice tomorrow. The states are the operating units, and we cannot stop the motion while the various bureaus in Washington are deliberating and philosophizing about abstract questions. Possibly the public assistance program will someday reach such a stage of maturity that Washington will be able to develop general policies and then authorize the regional representative to make decisions on specific points.

If we are to be partners we have a right to know what our partner is doing and how his decisions will affect the operation of the program. Certainly it would be helpful for one partner to advise and consult with the other before making sudden or arbitrary decisions. The least that Washington could do is give a satisfactory explanation of the thinking back of a policy, the need for it, and why it is being enunciated. State Letter No. 35, "Federal Matching of Assistance Payments in Which the Need of the Individual Is Affected by the Presence in the Household of Persons Essential to His Well-Being," presents a policy which seriously affects state operations. We had no idea that it was being considered; we had no explanation as to the reasons for it, nor why it was necessary. Such arbitrary action does not contribute materially to good relations between the state and the Federal Government.

The state agency has an obligation to make provision in its work plan for visits from Federal agency representatives. Planning the time and the content of the visit is not alone the function and responsibility of the Federal agency representative. The state agency must participate; otherwise, the state will not receive the help it expects, the Federal representative will not get a correct picture of the state, and the visit will have little value for both. The time, the frequency, and the length of the visit, and the material to be discussed can be mutually agreed upon if there is a desire on the part of the state agency to use such service in a constructive manner. It will be difficult to establish good relations between the two

agencies until these details are fully understood and agreed upon as well as practiced by the state agency.

It has been helpful to us and to the Federal representatives for them to know the members of our field staff rather well. Then too, the Federal representatives have visited some of our local units. This has given the Federal representatives a fuller appreciation of how the job is being done in the local agency. We have asked Federal agency representatives to appear on state conference programs and to offer institutes in order to acquaint our local staff members with them as well as to acquaint the Federal representatives with local people and their administrative problems. There is no doubt that such a method is useful in developing better relations. Certainly consultants as well as other Federal representatives need to get as close as possible to the local situation.

The state agency undoubtedly can do much in developing better interpretation to boards, to the state legislature, to the governor, and to the public as to the place, the responsibility, and the function of the Federal agency in a public assistance program. Some of us prefer to blame the Federal agency for certain difficulties when the fault is actually our own. Such an attitude does not make for constructive relationships; moreover, it weakens the total program and is certainly an unprofessional way of dealing with another agency. If the responsibility for certain weaknesses rests with us we must accept it, just as we expect the Federal agency to assume full responsibility for its shortcomings. We can help each other by giving an interpretation based upon the laws, the facts, and the actual operation of the two agencies. We need not offer a defense. The facts will speak for themselves if they are presented honestly.

The development of constructive Federal-state relationships should present no difficulty, since the principles used are a fundamental and necessary part of the equipment of social workers. In our relationship with the Federal agency we are dealing with people, in fact, we are dealing with people of our own profession. It is not unreasonable to assume that our interests, our concern, our objectives, and our approaches are the same in regard to the development of a growing, comprehensive, dynamic public assistance program which will have real meaning and purpose for those whom it is designed to serve. If we have understanding, respect for, and confidence in, the other fellow and his point of view; if we have developed patience and tolerance; if we are willing to share our experiences; if we are capable of intelligent coöperative endeavor on an honest and professional plane, many of the so-called problems

will disappear. The development of constructive Federal-state relationships is simple and elementary: we need only to practice what we preach.

II: FROM THE FEDERAL VIEWPOINT

By EDITH FOSTER

THE GENERAL WELFARE clause of the Federal Constitution is the beginning of our Federal-state relationships. The right of the Congress to spend money in aid of the general welfare has been exercised on many fronts, the most far reaching of which has been that of unemployment relief.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the Civil Works Administration, the Works Projects Administration, and the National Youth Administration functioned through state and local agencies with varying degrees of understanding and success. The wonder is that they functioned as well as they did, or perhaps that in some places they functioned at all. The doctrine that historically, traditionally, and legally public relief is the responsibility of the local community was deeply embedded. It had surprising vitality even in the economic upheaval of the 1930s, but the public assistance programs administered by county agencies suffer from physical and social boundaries too limited for our economic day and generation.

Constructive field relations in all public welfare activities have their roots in a common purpose. The essentials of partnership are inherent in the vast and important welfare undertakings shared by the states and the Federal Government. The operating partner is the state with its constituent subdivisions where the service and assistance are administered. The Federal agency is the assisting partner for the purpose of administering the Federal share of the funds and of making the programs effective on a nation-wide scale. It must be remembered that the Federal agency is manned with people from the states and that these individuals do not take on some strange attributes which make them "Federal" when they move to Washington.

Federal participation in promoting the general welfare has occurred in many settings—among them the development of public roads; agricultural research and extension; forest fire prevention;

public health services; vocational education; vocational rehabilitation; and, since 1935, the various programs of the Social Security Act. In all these activities the service of consultation, rather than the function of inspection, has been emphasized; and individuals assigned as Federal personnel in the field are known, not as "inspectors," but as "regional consultants" in the Public Health Service and the Children's Bureau, as "regional agents" in the Extension Service and Vocational Education, and as "regional representatives" in Vocational Rehabilitation and the programs of the Social Security Board. This preoccupation with terminology indicates a conviction that the successful conduct of a program depends upon Federal-state relationships of mutual confidence more than upon enforcement of regulations, no matter how well conceived these may be.

The partnership relation in most of the federally aided programs begins with the submission by the state of a plan which describes in considerable detail the social engineering which the state agency expects to use in carrying out the objectives of the Federal legislation. The requirements of the Federal act governing the particular grant-in-aid must, of course, be met by the state plan. The Federal agency which insists upon this legal compliance is frequently criticized as being bureaucratic. A similar type of organization operates successfully in industry, labor, and commerce, but "bureaucracy" has become a naughty word with a sinister sound for the slogan makers who use it as a synonym for officialism.

No staff member of a Federal agency can afford to live in an ivory tower. Every effective device to keep touch with the states must be used. The principal source of contact is the regional staff, headed by the regional representative who carries the responsibility of continuous relations with a limited number of states. This relationship naturally and rather quickly results in a community of interest which makes of the regional representative, not only an interpreter of Federal law and policy, but also an interpreter and transmitter of the state's problems and viewpoints to the Washington office.

Federal-state relations should have a quality which, like mercy, "blesses him that gives and him that takes," thus maintaining the well-known "light touch" and avoiding the "heavy hand." Moreover, the Federal representative should take criticism as well as give it, and should also accord honor and praise where honor and praise are due. He should, however, be more than a mere ambassador of good will, content with the *status quo* if it appears to be fairly satis-

factory. The objectives of Federal grant-in-aid legislation call for an energetic but steady leadership applied with a fine sense of timing.

In making regular and special visits to the state agency, the regional representative must be expected to consider the convenience of the state agency in so far as possible. It is probably no secret that some Federal agencies have had representatives who rushed thoughtlessly into state agency offices for flying visits which were unplanned and could result in little, if any, value to the Federal agency. Moreover, such casual contacts almost surely prove distinctly irritating to the state agency staff. The partnership concept should control the field schedule.

In public assistance the most satisfying field conferences are those requested by the state agency for the purpose of considering problems recognized in areas of special need or service. At such conferences the field staff is usually in attendance. Discussions are frank and informal, with no effort to avoid subjects likely to prove controversial. There is a recognition that the Federal representative is in a position to share with any one state agency the experiences of many others.

It is important that the Federal agency recognize and admit that none of its representatives knows all the answers. Questions which cannot be answered in the field should be referred to the Washington office, where broader experience and authority are available. There the inquiry should receive prompt and direct attention without encountering the red tape of which some Federal agencies are suspected of having a surplus. "Red tape" has been defined as that part of the other fellow's job which you do not understand. In a real partnership that kind of red tape does not exist.

More important than the elimination of red tape is consistency of policy on the part of the Federal agency. It is exceedingly important that there be no retroactive decisions which would seriously influence state administration. If it is impossible to foresee problems resulting from policies, or from the lack of policies, and unexpected difficulties develop, the Federal agency should share both the responsibility and the costs. Consistency of policy, however, must not preclude changes required to develop all the potentialities of present legislation. We shall always need to refit our methods to a new time and situation.

The state plan in operation is never static. It undergoes a constant change as it is applied to the various programs in the various subdivisions. Eternal vigilance is required of both state and Federal representatives to keep the plan working. Good intentions as ex-

pressed in the plan submitted for the immediate purpose of qualifying for Federal aid are not always translated into action. Sometimes the plan encounters such unexpected pressures that the state agency is strongly tempted to recede from its high resolution. It is at this point that the regional staff may become the welcome ally in resisting demands which both the state agency and the Federal representative regard as definitely harmful to good administration.

Changes in personnel frequently interfere with the development of a state's plan. This sometimes necessitates rebuilding the relationships between the regional office and the state. At such a time there is almost inevitably a temporary loss in efficiency since the mutual understandings which are frequently unrecorded are not easily recaptured. The written word should be used more consistently in promoting effective relations, but it should not then be buried in the files.

Shortages of personnel, particularly in the county agencies, are of constant concern, both to the state and to the Federal agency. The regional personnel methods consultant and the informational service representative are prepared to assist in plans for recruitment.

Other disturbing influences manifest themselves during state legislative sessions, when well-intentioned sponsors of legislation attempt to secure amendments which would affect the plan more or less seriously. The teamwork of state and Federal representatives is particularly important when legislative committees need the helpful information and advice which the regional attorney of the Federal agency is especially equipped to furnish.

The most practical method of carrying out the Federal advisory relationship is the continuous administrative review which is conducted by the regional staff. This review of administrative procedures and operations is concerned with two fundamentals: (1) assurance to the Social Security Board that the plan as administered by the state continues to meet the minimum requirements of the Social Security Act; and (2) assistance and guidance to the states in developing and maintaining sound standards of administration.

The administrative review is planned in annual periods so that within twelve months it will have included the study of sample cases for each of the three categories in a selected group of counties in each state. The method developed for the review involves a visit to each of the selected counties by a member of the regional staff. The executive of the county agency is interviewed so that a comprehensive understanding of the practices used in administering the assistance programs may be obtained. Minutes of the meetings

of the local public welfare boards are read. Information from each sample record is recorded on a schedule covering items related to taking of applications; establishing eligibility or the lack of it; determining the amount of assistance to be given; reviewing the circumstances of each recipient at stated times; and providing an opportunity for a fair hearing for any applicant for, or recipient of, a given form of assistance who is not satisfied with the treatment which he receives from the agency. All the information available in the records and in the interviews is measured against the state law and the state plan, including the instructions issued by the state agency to the local agencies which it administers or supervises.

While the field work of the review is in progress, there is opportunity for the regional personnel to bring to the attention of the state agency staff practices which the conscientious administrator will want to correct as promptly as possible. Some of these practices may involve problems of conformity with requirements of the Social Security Act and as such will raise the question of the propriety of Federal matching. Others may have no effect on the receipt of Federal funds but are of doubtful value in meeting the needs and problems of applicants or recipients; still others may be definitely detrimental to good administration.

A written report of the review is prepared annually for the use of the Social Security Board and of the state agency. With some variation in detail in the several regions, a planned presentation is usually made to the state board, to the director, and to selected members of the staff. Full discussion is encouraged, and special emphasis is placed upon areas in which progress has been made within the year, as well as upon those areas where there is marked need for improvement. This presentation is sufficiently formal to provide a comprehensive consultation in which the strands of advisory service may be drawn together and the direction of future development may be pointed.

One characteristic of any Federal-state relationship, and a frequent bone of contention, is the insatiable appetite of the Federal Government for figures, statistics, and reports. The public assistance program is no exception since the Social Security Act provides that the state must make provision for reporting and for assuring the accuracy of its reports. This requirement is sometimes interpreted as a kind of social audit. It is much more than that. The progress we make in constructive Federal-state relations toward achievement of our common purpose depends on what we do with the facts we find.

Significant progress can be observed in this important function

of reporting. The trend is definitely toward coöperative planning and evaluation of reports and in the direction of fewer required and more voluntary reports. While the states have a right to insist that the reports be confined to essentials, they should also recognize that long-range planning is impossible without reliable statistics. The nearest thing to a laboratory in the field of social welfare is the county welfare office. The elements which we try to observe and study are the needs and problems of individuals. Research can add to our knowledge of these elements and to our facilities for dealing with them. Public welfare workers, therefore, should be admonished to be kind to the researcher.

Doubtless, the most important objective of constructive Federal-state relationships is the interpretation of the total program for social security, which means various things to various people. To some it means social insurance in the form of unemployment compensation and old age and survivors insurance; to many others, it means categorical public assistance because they are too old, too young, or too handicapped to earn their living through employment. All these categories are protected by the Social Security Act. There is rather general agreement that this protection should be expanded and liberalized; but there is far too little interest in it, and popular understanding is definitely lacking.

For a time after the enactment of this historic legislation there was an inclination to make an unhappy distinction between the beneficiaries of old age and survivors insurance and the recipients of public assistance. This insurance was referred to as a right because a financial contribution had been made by the individual beneficiary. Definite efforts are made by the administering agency to find the persons who are entitled to benefits. Public assistance, in contrast, found clinging to it the ancient concept of relief which attaches to the recipients a sense of personal inadequacy. Through the years of the law's operation, under the Federal leadership of the Social Security Board, there has been developing in public assistance administrations an understanding that public assistance is also a right. Those who are now too old to work have made their contribution to society, and those who are too young have not yet had that opportunity. To all these persons who are now in need, assistance is a matter of right.

Three provisions of the Social Security Act support that right: (1) the provision for fair hearings by the state agency; (2) the safeguarding of confidential records; and (3) money payments to persons entitled to assistance in any of the three programs. These rela-

tively new principles adopted by the Congress have had consistent definition and interpretation by the Social Security Board. A recent release is a monograph on money payments. In this the Board again makes clear that assistance money is to be used by the recipient, or his legal guardian, in the same manner as funds from any other source. The person receiving the payment is to be no more restricted in the use of this money, which has become his money, than are his friends and neighbors who are not in need to be restricted in the use of their funds. This is a long advance in the philosophy of public assistance for America. It may take a long time to grasp all its implications.

The Bureau of Public Assistance has undertaken a project of interpretation of standards of service in the Aid to Dependent Children Program. In this project, now operating in several of the regions, representatives of state departments, private agencies, and schools of social work are joining members of the departmental and regional staffs in an exploration of ways of strengthening the program. Initial effort has resulted in statements of interpretation covering several eligibility requirements contained in the Social Security Act. These statements, in turn, have been discussed with regional, state office, and field staffs for the purpose of appraising the reaction of the local boards and of the public in general to a more inclusive definition of children to whom this assistance may be given. These discussions have illuminated the patterns of thought which have guided state legislators in the last three decades. The early statutory requirements tend to persist in the practice if not in the law of the state. There is unquestionably a general desire on the part of the state staffs to give to as many children as possible whatever measure of security this program affords. The statistics, however, are mute evidence that this category is not meeting successfully the need for which the Congress intended that provision should be made.

Perhaps a later step in interpretation of the program will bear some relation to a point of view expressed in a recent editorial of the *Journal of the American Public Welfare Association*, in which Stuart A. Rice is quoted as suggesting that in the future, public opinion may condemn those who reject public aid to the detriment of their health and efficiency just as it condemns today those who refuse to send their children to public schools, to the detriment of their education. If social security for needy children is to be achieved, we may have to undertake a program of case finding of the type which has been pioneered by tuberculosis associations and, more recently, used in the social insurances in locating persons

entitled to benefits. It is conceivable that the present public interest in delinquency control may lead in this direction. Evidence is accumulating to show that as the number of children receiving assistance decreases, there is an increase in juvenile delinquency. The chief of the Children's Bureau has placed first among the objectives in the control of juvenile delinquency the broadening of the social security program of aid to dependent children as an important factor in preventing family breakdown. It is obvious that an amendment to the Federal act to remove the matching maximums of \$18 and \$12 is needed in order that the Federal Government may become a full partner in the program. The Social Security Board has recommended this change in the act and also an extension of coverage to all needy children living in family homes. This may sound like the Federal agency's responsibility. It is, however, an obligation to be shared by the states and the local units of government where members of the Congress are elected and where the will of the people must be expressed. The Federal agency has the statutory duty of making the recommendation. This having been done it remains for all friends of American childhood, in all agencies—local, state, and national, private and public—to bear the kind of testimony which will be convincing to the Congress.

SOCIAL CASE WORK IN PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

By MARJORIE J. SMITH

THE HISTORY of the development of the public agencies during the depression decade is well known. At the beginning of that period in the cities, private agencies struggled to carry the load, and in the rural areas, county commissioners and township supervisors attempted to meet the ever-increasing need in their spare time. Then private agencies began to receive public funds to distribute to the unemployed as a temporary measure until new relief departments could be organized, and when the time came to set up these emergency agencies, there were, in many instances, wholesale loans of the trained staffs of private agencies to the new public departments. Most of the workers who had a part in the beginning stages of this development absorbed from the older, more experienced personnel of the voluntary agencies an idea of individualized services for clients, and it was generally accepted that the work of the public assistance agency was that of a family welfare organization.

It was, however, obvious with the increasing mass of work that there was a limit to the individualization which could take place, and the selection of situations most in need of additional services became an important part of the work. This selective process was diagnostic case work in itself, requiring a decision as to the social and individual factors in each situation. Once this selection was accomplished, the remaining, smaller proportion of cases could be offered a program of services in addition to financial aid. The clients of many of these early public assistance agencies were given a wide variety of services through specialized work projects, home equipment projects, sewing rooms, medical care, budgeting and planning help, housekeeping services, recreation, and community activities. Errors were made sometimes by overzealous workers who were too ready to provide services, but on the whole the general living conditions for many families were improved, and permanent gains were made in health, in household conditions, and, in many instances, in child care and welfare.

In the rural areas and in the Western states, wherever private agencies did not exist, the new welfare departments, organized on a more permanent basis after the inauguration of the social security program in 1935, continued along the original lines of development. In the urban areas, however, particularly in the East, confusion began to develop as to what the function of the public assistance agency should be. Perhaps there was some uneasiness on the part of the private agencies—a feeling of insecurity as to where their path might lead if the public departments were to do a complete service job. More often than not the public assistance agencies had inadequate staffs, both in numbers and in skills; and it was natural that in many communities a sharp line was drawn between the work of the private agency and that of the public agency, with the latter placed in the position of giving only financial assistance and the private organization providing other services. There has been, however, a general trend away from this arrangement, because most well-organized public departments now attempt to meet the total needs of their clients.

There still arises the question as to what place case work should have in a public assistance agency. That question can be answered only if case work itself is defined. If case work means dealing only with intense personality problems, the answer might have to be qualified in one direction or the other, although there is extreme doubt that one could reply that case work had no place in the agency. If, on the other hand, case work means, as it always has, an individualized approach to human problems in any area, the question needs no answer, and the granting of financial assistance in itself becomes a case work service.

The laws of the state of Washington say in defining public assistance: "The word 'assistance' shall mean public aid to persons in need thereof for any cause, and shall include services, direct relief, work relief, medical and institutional care."¹ Karl de Schweinitz in his recent book, *England's Road to Social Security*, goes a step further and defines relief as ". . . money, goods, or services supplied by an organization, philanthropic or governmental, to an individual who has applied for economic assistance because he has not enough in earnings or other resources to obtain for himself the necessities of life."² Both these statements indicate that economic

¹ Sec. 1, Chap. 126, Laws of 1939, as amended by Chap. 128, Laws of 1941, State of Washington.

² Karl de Schweinitz, *England's Road to Social Security* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943), p. vi.

assistance is considered to include, whenever necessary, any other services that the individual may require.

Much stress has been placed upon the function of the public agency to establish eligibility for assistance as defined by law and policy. In fact, many workers in the public case work agencies become so involved in that technical process that they miss completely the individual as a personality and his total problems. The process of determining eligibility for financial assistance is fundamentally no different from establishing eligibility for any service in any agency. A worker must determine whether his agency can help the individual. In order to make this decision, the worker must understand the real nature of the person's difficulty. This requires careful listening to the individual's presentation of his problem and to his plans for meeting it. Following this the worker must explore with the individual not only the obvious financial resources, but also the human resources within the person himself and his family, in his immediate environment, and in the community. If the total resources do not meet the need of the individual, then the worker must decide whether the agency is organized or authorized to meet the deficiency. If the answer is in the affirmative, the client is declared eligible for the services of the agency. This process of revealing the need, evaluating the resources, and deciding whether the agency can bridge the gap between the two completes the process of determining eligibility and is essentially the same whether it takes place in a public assistance agency, in a private agency, or in a medical or psychiatric clinic. If anything, the worker in the public assistance agency must develop to a higher degree than anyone else a sensitivity to the real differences that may exist in outwardly similar situations. In most instances, requests will be for financial assistance, and frequently that is the only service needed. On the other hand, there are many situations in which assistance with non-financial problems is desperately called for, and instances where financial aid is indeed called for but where other services are needed as well.

Any case worker in public assistance knows of many situations under the Aid to Dependent Children Program where, regardless of the amount of the grant, the children are still ill fed and ill clothed. The program is based upon a philosophy of assuring security to children in their own homes, and we administer according to the letter, not the spirit, of the law if we go no further than to establish eligibility for financial aid. Too often workers go only that far, emphasizing to a relatively inadequate mother the limit of

assistance, and admonishing her to be a "good" mother under penalty of losing what help she does get. The worker stops at this point even though she knows that the children may actually have inadequate food and clothing and are growing up in an environment of want and bitterness. If we are to carry out the philosophy of the Aid to Dependent Children Program we must go further toward understanding the total problem in such situations. Sometimes the only thing required is a simple educational process to teach the mother something of home planning and management. In other instances, the most intensive work with the mother's personal problems may be needed.

By way of contrast, we should recall the situation of a mother and her two children who were not eligible for financial assistance. This mother applied to Aid to Dependent Children in June, 1938, but before any decision had been made on the application, her home and all its contents burned. The family received \$1,200 insurance. The record stated: "Worker dropped in to tell mother she was not eligible. Case closed." In February, 1939, eight months later, this mother came to the office to reapply for assistance. She had no money, no home, no furniture. She has been receiving assistance ever since and probably will continue to do so for years, paying rent for furnished rooms. To make the situation worse, she is ill much of the time and is convinced that she cannot do her housework, although physicians report that there is no organic reason for her condition. One can hardly refrain from wondering what might have been the outcome if the worker had considered this family eligible for other services at the time that they were not eligible for financial assistance. An understanding worker might have aided this mother at the moment she most needed help. The security, both financial and otherwise, of the children has been seriously threatened by the worker's failure to offer further services. We cannot be interested only in the economic situation if our purpose is that of maintaining true security for children.

The same thought holds too for any public assistance case. Perhaps the program for aid to the blind has recognized from the beginning the need for varied services. A financial grant is only a small part of this program, which provides medical and surgical care, vocational training and placement, and help with social and personal adjustments. Sometimes before the passage of the Social Security Act, in a state where county blind pensions were granted, a case came to the attention of the board of county commissioners. A young man of twenty-three had become blind because of cataracts

and was applying for financial aid. The board was most sympathetic and voted the maximum grant. The county social worker, who was in charge of the emergency relief program, pointed out that if surgery could restore sight to the lad, the county would actually save money by providing for it, since the expensive operation would, in the long run, cost less than years of pension grants. The board hesitatingly agreed, and the boy's sight was restored. When the county commissioner who represented the young man's district reported the results and told of the expression on the lad's face when he saw the white sandstone cliffs of the river again, another member of the board remarked, that such work was not to be measured entirely in dollars and cents. From then on the social worker in that district had no difficulty in interpreting either to officials or to the general public a program of public assistance which included rehabilitative and personal services.

Even in the old age assistance program, which always has been regarded with less favor by those who talk of case work, there is every need and possibility for individualized services. A financial grant does not solve the problem of the old person without relatives or friends who needs help in finding housing or medical care or relationships in the community. Neither does financial service alone meet the problem of the elderly person who is having difficulty in adjusting to old age. Our state hospitals and institutions are filled with senile cases. The proportion of old people in our population is steadily increasing, yet we have hardly begun to think of the mental hygiene of old age. There is no doubt in the minds of many experts in this field that much could be done to prevent breakdown in later years if there were an adequate program of services for the aging and the aged. Individualized and group services in the fields of medical care, housing, and recreational activities and in the area of personality adjustments would keep many old people out of institutions and active in their communities. We should think, too, in terms of rehabilitation for living for many old people who already have broken down. Too often rehabilitation carries the connotation of assistance toward becoming self-supporting, and our thinking needs broadening at this point.

In the case of the unemployed adult we cannot be interested only in granting subsistence. We must be concerned with helping the individual find a way back to self-sufficiency and with maintaining his skills and morale during enforced idleness. In the last few years, all agencies granting financial assistance have come to know many families in which the wage earner, a physically fit young man,

has been unable to keep a well-paying job in war industry. From time to time such families have had to be helped while a new job was being sought. Workers have found many such men who are able to hold jobs driving trucks or doing outside work which, however, do not always pay enough for the family to live decently in the face of the inflated cost of living. Is the answer to such situations a declaration that these families are ineligible for public assistance and must get along as best they can? Is it against public policy for a case worker to wonder why a particular man cannot keep a job paying high wages although he tries again and again? Should not the worker in the public agency be aware of the deeply rooted anxiety in these men who cannot seem to work with machines, and direct the individual to the proper psychiatric help if such is available, or help him find a suitable job in an emotionally safe situation, and aid in the search for other resources to meet the family's needs? Such cases, very often, would probably be classified by the statistician as simply "unemployed," but the point to stress is that in individual cases, unemployment is not merely lack of a job, and underemployment is not always a matter of part-time or short-hour work, but that personal and economic factors are inextricably interwoven.

During the past two or three years of increased employment all case workers have been startled by the way in which so-called unemployable individuals have gone to work. The entire situation should teach us a lesson in regard to this group. Through careful work, we should be able to help these men and women, whom we have always considered as chronic cases, find a place in life. Proper employment opportunities, intensive work with personal problems, slow, supportive effort will achieve success in a great number of cases. It is not to be hoped that all the individuals in this group can become completely self-supporting, but a great many can be partially so, and most can be helped toward a better social and personal adjustment. As with the aged, we should think in terms of rehabilitation for living for these people who have been considered more or less as a total loss. The saving in human values and the prevention of human wastage through a broader service program would be tremendous.

To furnish all these services requires an adequately skilled staff. Merely to establish eligibility for economic assistance requires only good clerical work. The latter can be done by using a form and checking off, after investigation, economic resources against budgetary needs. But to take into consideration the human element in

every situation, and to see each situation as individual, requires a basic knowledge and an understanding of human behavior which are a part of the equipment of the trained case worker. If the public agency is truly to help its clients toward rehabilitation and security, there must be an adequately trained staff. The personnel situation at the present time precludes any possibility of having fully trained case workers in all positions in every agency, whether public or private, but with some fully trained, some partially trained, and some untrained workers, with staff developmental programs and qualified supervisors, a good program can be carried forward.

There is one group of persons closely allied with public welfare interests who object to the development of such a service program. They are those who fear that when the public assistance agency goes beyond granting only financial assistance there will be an infringement of the individual's freedom to live his life as he sees fit. They declare that the individual has a right to financial help when he needs it and that he should not have to answer questions in regard to any other problem. That the individual has a right to financial aid when he needs it is sound social thinking, and any program of public assistance must provide minimum financial security to all who need such help. Social workers can accept no other basis for public assistance. But a truly adequate program will go one step further. Laws and administrative rules and regulations must, of necessity, treat all alike, but there is no limitation on the worker's understanding and acceptance of the individual and his problems. We should emphasize that the rights of individuals demand equal opportunity for services for all people. People should have a right to whatever services they need, and this right should not depend upon whether they live in a city where specialized private agencies exist. Financial assistance must be given according to specified legal requirements, and to all on an equal basis, but the respect for, and the acceptance of, the individual and a knowledge of human behavior will determine what other services are made available.

CASE WORK POSSIBILITIES IN A PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

By *HELEN E. HAYDEN*

A PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAM is a most useful device for developing a public welfare program. Another equally important aspect of a public welfare program has to do with social welfare organization; and another, with those social services which are needed in any community but which are not directly related to financial dependency. A comprehensive view of recent developments in public welfare gives us some cause for concern, I believe, as well as some basis for encouragement. Encouraging is the fact that there is an increasing acceptance of the idea of the client's right to relief; encouraging too is the fact that in any public assistance program it is necessary to offer case work service as it is needed in the establishment of eligibility for financial aid. The discouraging part of the picture lies in the fast-disappearing concern in public welfare for assuming responsibility for case work service in situations which are not related to financial dependency. An exception may be mentioned, it is true, in the child welfare services under the Social Security Act, but they are narrowly defined, offered only in rural areas, and not available at all in many rural counties. This emphasis on the aid program is probably due to the strong leadership from the Bureau of Public Assistance, which has encouraged rapid improvement in the methods of administering public assistance. In other words, it appears that public welfare agencies are fast becoming public assistance agencies only, instead of public assistance programs being used to strengthen a public welfare program.

The term "case work" is here used to mean all service offered to enable people to realize more fully their potentialities when they are unable to do so without this help. The basic case work principles are as applicable in one kind of agency as another, be it public or private. Hence, in this sense, case work is being offered and must be offered in public assistance. A great part of this case work skill

is related to knowing what to do or what not to do in order to avoid the development of dependency, financial or otherwise, or to help an individual grow away from an existing dependency. This is no small task, and it is one for which we have accepted responsibility generally. We are doing a quite adequate job of developing skill around this kind of problem, testing our policies, and developing the competency of our staffs.

If there is validity in case work service there is no reason why it should stop or start as financial dependency starts and stops, and that is what is happening now. In how many instances is a case opened in a public assistance agency unless the problem involves financial dependency? Unless a case is under "observation" while a grant may be suspended, how many are kept open for "service only"?

We face certain limitations in public welfare, such as those that pertain to the size and quality of our staffs, restrictive legislation, and inadequate funds. This means, practically speaking, that we cannot offer the well-rounded program which, as a profession, we have the skill to offer. Because of these limitations, we will probably be able for some time to come to offer many more skilled services in private agencies, especially in the deeper treatment aspects, than we will be able to in a public program.

Basically, there is no reason why the possibilities of case work in a public assistance program should be different from the case work possibilities anywhere. The eventual realization of this should be no less possible than realization of the idea that public medical care can be as effective as privately supported medical care.

Our present limitations must be met realistically. The first of these pertains to staff. There are far too few social workers to fill the jobs which are open. Moreover, the education and experience of a large proportion of those who are working in the field are inadequate.

Even more serious, because it defeats the best use of available staff members, is the fact that we lack clarification of certain of our objectives. Those related to efficient management and careful observation of the laws under which we operate are fairly well established. However, there are also objectives which are related to the service we give beyond the minimum requirements of the law as they are related to financial aid. Too often a staff is torn between wishful thinking and restrictive policies. The result may be that the worker resolves her frustration by developing a purely legalistic concept of her responsibilities, or she may try, in a variety of ways, to meet the financial eligibility requirements and their attendant services

as well as the need for other services which is so obvious in many financially dependent families. This, in turn, adds to her frustration because she cannot do it all. So, she fumbles and gropes, trying to do an impossible job. There are some agencies, it is true, where this conflict has been clarified, especially in certain urban areas. Here it is more easily taken care of because of the possibilities of the division of responsibility between agencies, and because referrals may be made to specialized agencies. But that is not true in most rural counties, and it is not true in many fairly large cities—and that comprises nearly 75 percent of the population served by the public assistance agencies. It is, therefore, unrealistic to say that the need for certain case work services met in public assistance should be referred to the proper agency. The public assistance agency is the only case work resource in thousands of communities. To refuse to recognize this important fact is to ignore one of the greatest unmet needs in social work.

We must accept responsibility in the definition of our job for certain services in addition to those case work services we are now offering which are related to financial eligibility. This is especially true if there are not proper referral resources in the community. We should develop protective work, both for children and for adults, and preventive work related to certain situations, such as health problems, the need for understanding help in child care, and supportive services in old age assistance, especially. Although, in the great majority of cases, these services will be neither needed nor desired, there is the small percentage where they are both needed and desired. The public has a right to expect us to offer this kind of help. We regret that a large proportion of the public thinks of social work as relief work. It is unfortunate, but inevitable, that this will be increasingly true if we do not offer more positive and more varied help in problem situations not related to relief. This is quite another matter from "doing good" willy-nilly; it is a matter of careful analysis of where the need lies and of directing our energy toward meeting it. If this is done, we can offer these services with the staffs which we now have.

Before we can hope to make specific plans in any county or regarding any case loads, three fundamental questions must be faced. The first question concerns the development of a philosophy as to the right of the individual to public assistance. This has been clarified in theory and, to quite an extent, in practice. Historically, of course, we have been imbued with a sense of shame related to financial dependency which it will take more than intellectual ac-

ceptance to abolish. Culturally, such a feeling is well intrenched. Even though we in public assistance give lip service to the client's right to relief we find evidence of the opposite viewpoint in the little subtleties of our activities. Our leadership is clear on the subject, however, and the ultimate realization of its practice is more a matter of personal than professional orientation.

Basic to this concept is the acceptance of public welfare as a device offered by society for the use of people who are the victims of society's mismanagement, not the individual's. Following this to its logical conclusion, we realize that our responsibility lies in the field of making resources, both financial and service, available.

This brings us to our second question: What services are directly related to eligibility and are there some services which should be offered in a public assistance program which are not related to financial eligibility? We have said that it seems impracticable and impossible to conceive of public assistance and public welfare as separate programs, but there is some leadership in that direction. For instance, a review of the manuals of the various states for the use of the county welfare units reveals a concentration entirely on financial dependency. This focus is without doubt related to the "muddling" we went through during the period of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration when we superimposed in so many instances the methods and the paternalistic attitudes that we had carried over from our private agency practice without distinguishing the basic differences in the nature of the program. The regrettable aspect of much of our work at that time has already been recognized, but is that any reason for our rejecting responsibility for all services not directly related to financial eligibility?

It is probably pertinent to say that the last thing which should be implied is that case work with people as it is related to their financial dependency is an inferior or an insignificant responsibility. It is, if it is done effectively, as highly a skilled job as there is in social work, when one considers the number of people affected, the danger of increasing every kind of dependency, and the obligation we owe to society as well as to the individual applicant.

There must be a "plus" envisioned in the possibilities of the application of case work in public assistance if we are to accept the only point at which such service can be offered at this time—and probably for a long time to come—in the public welfare agency.

These services are, at a minimum, twofold and, in some instances, threefold. Any review of the problems presented in a public assistance program will reveal that there are, first, those situations which

are related to protective work of some kind. It is all very well to say that we would refer them to the child welfare services worker, but that is not always the practical solution. In the first place, there are by no means child welfare workers in every county. In most states this service is set up on a demonstration basis in a few selected counties, or on a district basis, so that the total need cannot possibly be met. Moreover, there are many protective angles which are not necessarily related to children: nonsupport, desertion, cruelty, indebtedness, and health, to mention only a few.

Secondly, if we are to be practical in our consideration of the problem we must admit that there are people who are financially dependent because they have reached a point of personal maladjustment where they are incapable of being self-supporting. There are also those who, because of the pressures of financial dependency, are growing farther and farther away from the norm. It is not enough to say that if our service is based on a sound philosophy of their right to relief, it will be sufficient. It will help, but there are innumerable cultural factors alone which cannot be overcome by the social worker's concept of "right," and they will continue to press on the dependent person.

Many of the individuals concerned do not want case work help. As a matter of fact, they probably have little or no insight as to what is happening, so how can they want help? Still, understanding and interpretation can be of tremendous assistance. Where else can our skill more profitably be employed? Does the physician treat only the illness which the patient is able to diagnose and accept as real? The client in social work must accept the helping relationship as real, but not necessarily the specific diagnosis in order to be helped.

Thirdly, there are those difficulties which an individual experiences which are wholly unrelated to his financial dependency, such as marital difficulties, alcoholism, sexual aberrations, withdrawal from social contacts, and so forth. Doubtless there should be a conscious recognition of these problems by the applicant if adequate help is to be used. Persons whose difficulties are included in this group cannot be helped at all in many public welfare agencies because of the time involved in treatment and the depth of the therapy involved. We mention them only in recognition of an eventual possibility of touching their needs in public assistance agencies, not as a practical possibility in all agencies at this time.

What are the possibilities of the use of case work in public assistance now? How can we approach a planned program for realizing

our greatest potentialities? We must recognize that to accept our fullest responsibility we must not think that we can simply theorize. We must analyze the specific need; for too long we have been offering generalities about what can be done or should be done. To say that we must recognize the client's right to relief and relate all our service to that has little meaning unless we examine what service is needed and is asked for, consciously or unconsciously. To say that we should use community resources or be a part in developing them is of little point if we do not plan how to do it.

Any plan for developing the possibilities of case work in public assistance must be directly related to an analysis of the needs of the applicants. In order to know what these are we must analyze the case loads. We must learn what service is needed in our immediate setting. Only through this method can we determine our responsibility. The emphasis and the extent to which it can be realized may vary in different communities, but through the method we can begin to define our possibilities and build from there, gradually, toward an ultimate goal of broad and inclusive service.

To say that our assistance case loads are too large has little meaning in this kind of plan. No case load is ever too large to throw out the possibility of concentrating on the development of certain skills in treating a certain part of that case load or in certain aspects of the whole load. We say that we have not time for the "plus" if we have a hundred cases, nor have we if we have four hundred or more. It is the use of the time and where we will concentrate our effort that are important, not the size of the load. Perhaps we shall find that there are many cases that need to be seen only once a year or once in six months, and, in fact that should not be seen more often on the initiative of the worker. In this way it is possible to adapt the rest of our time to meet the greatest needs of the case load.

The experience of a field representative and a child welfare worker in a rural county is an illustration of this method. In her first visit to the county the representative found the worker under great pressure with a case load of 115. The worker asked for supervisory help on a great many specific situations. After their conferences she seemed to be somewhat relieved and indicated that she would be able to go ahead. However, at her next visit the representative found that the worker had been able to accomplish very little. She felt the pressures of her terrific case load from all directions and was scattering her energy ineffectively. So they analyzed the whole situation together, case by case, recognizing that it was possible to work effectively only with a certain number. There were

many cases with whom there had been no contact for a long time, and these were closed. There were others where it was felt that although the case should be kept open for another two or three months, the worker need take no initiative in seeing the client. The result was that thirty-five cases were closed; fifteen were held for observation; fifteen more were to be visited once and the case then closed if no help seemed to be needed or desired; fifteen were marked as needing, under the law, a three-month visit; and thirty-five were recognized as needing a close relationship, with emphasis on ten of these especially.

This is a simple enough method and one which is well known, but it is not used frequently enough in public assistance in relation to the case work service beyond that related to eligibility determination. One reason is that we have not said what responsibilities we will assume and then, within the limits of our time, decide which cases we will attempt to follow through. The emphasis will vary in different localities, as will also the percentage of cases for which a worker will assume this responsibility. No worker should ever be wholly free from such responsibility. There is a vast difference in the case work service offered by different staffs that have equal qualifications and carry equal loads. The difference lies, to a great extent, on the kind of leadership that the agency has. In rare instances, of course, the individual worker is well able to function independently of agency leadership.

When we analyze a relief load what do we find? An analysis of a general relief load of 3,623 cases in a large urban county in January, 1942, furnishes the following data: (1) half the case load had no one in the labor force and no one seeking work, although in May, 1934, only 11 percent of the general relief cases fell in that category; (2) for the case load as a whole there were twenty-three diagnosed physical problems for every 100 persons; and (3) the rate of mental illness was 3.2 per 100, and the rate for I.Q.'s of .80 or less was 5.6. The two reasons given most frequently as contributing to the need for relief were physical or mental incapacity and the absence of the breadwinner. I quote from the study:

The characteristics—broken homes, poor health, mental disability—are manifestations of basic, unsolved problems both in the social and economic environment and also in the individual. They develop over a period of years and require, usually, specific treatment if they are to be eliminated or alleviated. For cases evidencing such characteristics, a job will not effect rehabilitation. The presence of such characteristics defi-

nately restricts the ability of a person or family to be self-supporting and is logically a cause for continuing or chronic dependency.

At the time this study was made, a random sampling of cases was taken and all the social agency records on each family were read. The agency was one with unusually high standards of relief, and the cases were worked with on the basis of their economic need almost wholly. The following summary of one of these cases is not atypical and illustrates the kind of handling which is being repeated over and over to a devastating degree:

Mr. Lane applied for relief in April, 1934, at the age of nineteen. He was unable to get along with his stepfather any longer. His family had been known to the relief agency since 1921, but Mr. L. was not known to the social worker although he had been known to the juvenile court. Relief had been adequate. He was sent to a Civilian Conservation Corps camp, deserted, and was certified to the Works Projects Administration for work. He married shortly thereafter and in a four-year period had ten different employers and was on and off WPA projects several times. The record indicates fits of temper, desertion, nonsupport, and neglect of the children. In 1939 the family was brought into juvenile court on a charge of child neglect, and the children were removed. In 1941 Mr. Lane was picked up by the United States Employment Service for vocational testing, and it was found that his general ability was above average. In view of his past work history and argumentative attitude, however, it was felt that he could not be recommended for any job.

The danger signals in this situation were clear for many years. Yet at no time was any case work service offered other than that directly related to financial dependency. Repeatedly, as financial dependency ceased, the case was closed. The family had no concept of the relief agency as being interested in offering any service other than that related to relief. True, we might not have been able to reach this man, even early, but we should have accepted a responsibility to try.

Certainly we must attempt to do no more than we are able to do well. But there are many points at which we can be helpful in case situations and where we can help staff members to develop their skill in meeting them. We have long since recognized that to make medical care available through referral is often not nearly enough. It is not beyond our ability to transmit through agency channels an understanding of some of the more frequently occurring attitudes

related to this subject. This type of study need not be confined to schools of social work; it must not be, in fact. The schools can offer a more intensive, more well-rounded study, but there is much factual material which can be transmitted through supervision in an agency.

In other words, we must find out where the greatest need for the greatest emphasis lies for case work service if we are to do the most effective job. Then our in-service training programs will be better focused and therefore more productive.

There can be no question about the need for case work service in a public assistance agency. In the great majority of our communities there is no other agency through which it can be developed. We are and have been offering such service, but under increasing limitations. The need will become even greater after the war. The eventual usefulness of these services we cannot even guess now. We have the material with which to begin, but it is important to plan the beginning and the development, or we will continue to fumble and grope as we have in the past. If we do, we will finally be forced to say that case work in a public assistance program is not a well-rounded social work job, but one which involves learning community resources and budgeting, based on a philosophy of the right to relief. And we will then wait a long time for an opportunity to demonstrate what the case work service potentialities are in a community.

RHODE ISLAND ABOLISHES SETTLEMENT

By GLEN LEET

A BRIEF quotation from a speech made by Governor J. Howard McGrath of Rhode Island, at the Rhode Island Conference of Social Work in 1943 expresses in a nutshell the reasons why a continuation of settlement requirements is so absurd.

At a time when we are feeding Arabs in North Africa, and are praying that the day may come soon when we may feed the French, Poles, Czechoslovakians, and others, it does seem absurd that we should draw the line on needy American citizens merely because they come from Massachusetts or Connecticut.

Rhode Island was the first state in the Union completely to abolish its settlement laws. Neither the state nor any city or town in the state imposes any settlement, residence, or citizenship restriction upon eligibility for any type of public assistance. The elimination of the settlement requirement for general public assistance was accomplished by the Rhode Island General Public Assistance Act of 1942. Residence and citizenship requirements for old age assistance and aid to dependent children residence restrictions were eliminated in 1943.

At a time when we are beginning to realize that this is "one world" we should also realize that this free United States is also "one nation." In a free nation there is no place for state or local trade barriers, state or local settlement laws, or similiar restrictions which tend to Balkanize our nation. In a free nation no person, rich or poor, should be bound to the soil by settlement laws as though he were a serf in the Dark Ages. We find it difficult to understand how any person can, with sincerity, be concerned with free enterprise and economic freedom, and still support settlement laws. Had some of the present-day settlement restrictions been enforced in the past, the Pilgrims would never have been allowed to land on Plymouth Rock, the Indians would have returned Roger Williams to Salem, Philadelphia would have returned Benjamin Franklin to Boston, Abraham Lincoln never would have been

allowed to enter Illinois, and the West would still be the domain of the Indian and the buffalo.

Even the most superficial observation of public welfare activities reveals that public assistance social workers are accustomed to indulging in a most elaborate set of inherited motions which do not contribute to the basic objectives of public assistance laws or to the welfare of recipients. The Rhode Island General Public Assistance Act of 1942 was designed to eliminate some of these useless motions so far as general public assistance was concerned. This act eliminated all conditions of eligibility except that of need.

As soon as Rhode Island had eliminated the settlement requirement for general public assistance, it became apparent that no useful purpose was served by continuing the residence requirement for old age assistance, aid to the blind, and aid to dependent children. In fact, such residence requirements worked to the financial disadvantage of the state. When the category residence requirements were eliminated, it made it possible to transfer to the categories, where we receive 50 percent Federal reimbursement, a number of persons who were formerly receiving general public assistance, in which the state and cities and towns were paying the entire cost. The elimination of the residence requirement, therefore, saved the state money rather than causing additional expense.

Rhode Island's experience has indicated that the supposed advantages of settlement laws are almost completely fictitious. In the first place, in almost every state the number of persons who are actually denied assistance because of lack of settlement is insignificant in proportion to the entire assistance burden. The problem seems large only because so many of the states do not have any satisfactory method of meeting it. This fact was established in Rhode Island by the transitionary law which was enacted by the State Legislature in 1940. Under the 1940 law the state agreed to reimburse cities and towns for 100 percent of the costs incurred for assisting persons who had not lived within that city or town for five years preceding application. The amount which the state was called upon to spend under this law during the year it was in operation represented less than 7 percent of the total general relief expenditures during that period. This convinced Rhode Island, at least, that the problem was not a great one, and that complete elimination of settlement requirements would not impose any unreasonable burden.

It had been contended that if the state were to eliminate its settlement requirements persons would flock into Rhode Island from other states in order to secure assistance. Our experience has indi-

cated that this belief was entirely without foundation in fact. The Division of Public Assistance has been unable to locate a single individual who has moved into the state in order to secure assistance, and this is not due to the fact that Rhode Island general public assistance standards are lower than those in the surrounding states. In July, 1943, the Rhode Island general public assistance average grant of \$34.89 was the second highest in the nation, and it is substantially higher than the average grant in the adjoining states of Massachusetts (\$28.12) and Connecticut (\$28.89). There was no net increase in the general public assistance rolls during the year following the elimination of the settlement requirement. In fact, the rolls were reduced by 47.2 percent, which is a little bit more than the drop of 42.4 percent for the entire nation. Rhode Island's experience indicates that people move in order to secure a better life for themselves. They move in order to obtain work. They move in order to live with relatives and friends. They do not move to secure relief.

We have found that during the past few years many people have moved to Rhode Island in order to secure jobs. They provide manpower for shipyards, for the torpedo station, and for the machine tools industry. These constitute part of Rhode Island's contribution to the war production of this nation. Some of this manpower has come from New York, some from Vermont, some from New Hampshire, some from Maine, some from Massachusetts, and some from Connecticut. It is perfectly true that a small proportion of these individuals have become sick or, for other reasons, have required public assistance. Rhode Island has given this gladly. In fact, we firmly believe that it would have been most contemptible if the state, after depriving other states of their most valued possession, their working men and women, had denied assistance to the relatively few individuals who have required public aid.

When a state eliminates its settlement laws and agrees to assist all persons in need within its borders, the state at the same time absolves itself of all legal responsibility for persons who leave the state. In order to prevent hardship as a result of this situation, Rhode Island has been guided by a good neighbor policy. This policy is embodied in the following statement, dated August 12, 1942, which has been sent by Clemens J. France, State Director of Social Welfare, to public welfare agencies in other states:

Chapter 1212 of the Rhode Island Public Laws of 1942, approved by Governor J. Howard McGrath on May 1, 1942, has abolished the Rhode Island settlement laws insofar as general public assistance is concerned.

Since July 1, 1942, persons who are in need in Rhode Island are eligible for general public assistance without respect to settlement or residence conditions. As a consequence, any persons who leave Rhode Island no longer have a residence or a settlement in Rhode Island, and Rhode Island has no legal obligation to care for them if they become in need.

However, as a matter of being a good neighbor to other States, the State Department of Social Welfare recommends to cities and towns that they grant authorizations to return persons to Rhode Island in any situation where it is apparent that such a return is socially desirable, and will contribute to the well-being of the person concerned. This policy is effective regardless of the length of the time which a person has been away from the State or the length of time which the person resided in the State previously. Rhode Island will not ask any other State to authorize the return of any needy person unless such return is considered socially desirable, and will contribute to the well-being of the person concerned.

In view of the decision of the United States Supreme Court, in the Edwards case, Rhode Island will not authorize the return of any person and will not request an authorization from another State unless such a return is desired by the person concerned.

Although, as previously indicated, Rhode Island has no legal obligation to care for any person who has left the State, please be advised that we desire to work in terms of the closest coöperation with other States, and it is the Rhode Island policy to interpret social desirability in such a manner that it will not work a hardship on other States.

This policy, which is based upon "social desirability" rather than upon rigid legal conceptions, has been applied to institutional care as well as to public assistance.

We find that states which have been accustomed to deciding questions of settlement on a strictly legal basis are sometimes baffled when they have to deal with a state which is concerned only with the question of "social desirability." For example, one state sent us a court ruling to the effect that it was socially desirable that a certain family be returned to Rhode Island. They found it difficult to understand our attitude when we would not recognize the statement of a judge which was unsupported by any social data. We would gladly have accepted any evidence resulting from a social investigation which would have established the fact that in Rhode Island the family would have better opportunities for employment, or would be enabled to live with friends or relatives, or that the housing conditions would be more favorable, or, in fact, any evidence that the family would be better off in Rhode Island, but we were completely unimpressed by a court ruling.

This does not indicate that we do not have due regard for the

dignity of the law. In fact, we hold it in such high esteem that we take very seriously the provision of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States, which states:

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

The opinion of the United States Supreme Court, as expressed in the *Edwards* case, seems to indicate that many state settlement laws are unconstitutional, that they are not a valid exercise of the police powers of the state, and that they impose unconstitutional burdens upon interstate commerce. This opinion, together with humanitarian considerations, is the basis for the policy that "Rhode Island will not authorize the return of any person, and will not request an authorization from another state unless such a return is desired by the person concerned." At a time when we are fighting against the Nazi regime which has no scruples about "pushing around" helpless peoples, we do not propose to have any part in "pushing around" good Americans merely because they are poor.

Some people think that the settlement problem can be solved by simplifying the laws. This is a snare and a delusion. I have tried over a period of ten years to draft a simple settlement law. Once I thought I had succeeded. A legislature passed my supposedly simple settlement law. The most uncomfortable weeks of the following year were those which I spent in trying to work out reasonable administrative interpretations of this supposedly simplified law. Simplification was no solution. Settlement laws represent a Gordian knot. They cannot be untangled, simplified, or be made uniform. The only practical solution is to cut the Gordian knot and abolish settlement laws completely.

Elimination of settlement laws does not present as complicated a legal problem as is commonly assumed. A state could accomplish this by the enactment of a law which said in effect: "No person who is otherwise eligible shall be denied assistance by the state or by any of its political subdivisions because of lack of residence or settlement. All acts or parts of acts in conflict herewith are hereby repealed." Some states might find it desirable to add a provision to the effect that the state would at the same time increase its reim-

bursement to local units for public assistance expense. The Rhode Island General Public Assistance Act also provided for an increase of state participation from 5/11ths to 70 percent, and this unquestionably contributed greatly to the acceptance of the whole measure by cities and towns.

If a state wishes to remove artificial restrictions to migration, it should go beyond abolishing its settlement laws. Rhode Island has gone beyond this and has provided that if a person who is receiving assistance wishes to move out of the state, he may do so and still continue to receive assistance as long as his need continues. The desirability of taking this step was made apparent by a situation which arose directly out of the war emergency. In one defense area certain work vital to the whole war program was seriously handicapped by the fact that it was simply impossible to find additional housing facilities for war workers. Some recipients of old age assistance expressed the desire to move from this overcrowded area in order to live with relatives in other states where there was less congestion, and where there might be greater security. The only obstacle to their moving was that under existing state policies these persons would forfeit their rights to old age assistance when they had been absent from the state for more than three months. The three months' restriction has now been eliminated. Their freedom of movement being no longer restricted, these people made the move which was so desired, and in some instances the quarters which they vacated have been utilized by vitally needed war workers.

The question may be raised as to how a state can afford to do this. The answer is that as far as we can determine, it has not cost anything, other than the shock involved in disposing of some long-established, but unhonored traditions. In one month the amount which Rhode Island spent on old age assistance recipients living outside the state amounted to only one tenth of one percent of our total old age assistance. So far as we can determine, if we had not liberalized our policy, these persons would have remained in war-congested areas, where the cost of assistance would certainly not have been less. We believe that this policy has brought advantages to the community, to our war industry, and, most important, to the happiness and contentment of our senior citizens who have received a greater measure of freedom and security.

We do not know exactly how many persons who are now receiving assistance in Rhode Island would not have been eligible had our settlement and residence requirements not been abolished. The reason we do not know is because the whole expensive, time-consuming

administrative work involved in determining settlement and residence has been eliminated. We are pretty certain that the cost of assisting these persons is not nearly so great as the administrative costs which were necessitated under the old laws when it was necessary to establish settlement or residence for every individual before he received assistance. We do know that the elimination of these requirements has eliminated much red tape. With war-depleted staffs we never could have maintained a high level of social service if we were still frittering away our time on settlement investigations. We know that the elimination of these restrictions has prevented hardship in some instances. We know that assistance has been more prompt. Welfare agencies can never expect the respect of the general public so long as they operate under laws which require them to place settlement ahead of human needs.

The elimination of the citizenship requirement, which was accomplished at the same time, has been of great benefit in removing red tape and delays which not only caused hardship to individuals, but also discredited public assistance. Let me give an illustration:

An application was received from Mrs. A. for old age assistance on October 16, 1942. An investigation was made and eligibility established almost immediately except for the fact that the applicant could not prove citizenship or twenty years of residence in the United States, which was acceptable in lieu of citizenship. Because of the lack of citizenship papers, it was necessary to send letters to town clerks in three different towns in New York and to a brother-in-law, none of whom produced any proof. A visit to the city hall was made with the result that residence was proven for nineteen years in Providence through listings in the city directory, but not for the twentieth year. The applicant, knowing that we recognized that she was in need, could not understand the necessity for obtaining any documentary proof. Five home visits were made, at which the worker endeavored to explain that documentary proof was necessary, but the applicant continued to consider the requirement as just unnecessary red tape. With this view we were not only sympathetic, but entirely in agreement. There is no telling how many more visits might have been necessitated by this legal requirement, for all this time-consuming and futile work was discontinued as soon as the law was changed, and Mrs. A. was immediately accepted for old age assistance. During the seven and one-half months' interval, she was receiving general public assistance in accordance with the same standards as old age assistance, so that the effect of eliminating the requirement was to make it possible for the state

to receive 50 percent reimbursement from the Federal Government, instead of having to pay 70 percent as a general public assistance reimbursement to the city.

Some states may say that it is all very well to eliminate settlement laws during the war period, but that it will not be practical when the war is over. They may ask what the situation will be when the torpedo station closes, when the shipyard contracts are canceled, and when war industry no longer needs machine tools. The states which raise these questions would be in a better position to indicate their sincerity if they had suspended their settlement laws for the duration. We may be wrong, but we think that it is just as practical to do without settlement laws in the postwar period as at the present time. Many of our workers from other states have left their families behind them; many will want to return to live with their families. However, if they go it will be because they want to go and not because we pushed them out. Industry, labor, and various other groups are working on postwar problems. These plans are not based upon the theory that we are not going to need productive manpower. We believe that our state has a great future, and that in this future we will want working men and working women to produce the increasing volume of goods and services that we hope to enjoy in the postwar world.

THE LEARNING PROCESS IN AGENCY SETTINGS

By THOMASINE HENDRICKS

APPROXIMATELY forty-five thousand¹ staff members are engaged in the administration of public assistance in the states. This group comprises both the learners and the teachers in a governmental program of social service concerned with the individual well-being of large numbers of our American population. Planning opportunities for learning by this large group in widely scattered areas is a challenge to agencies to develop their administrative processes to realize the potentialities for learning inherent in them, to identify the body of knowledge and skill to be learned, and to devise flexible means of presenting information and ideas. For the past eight years public welfare agencies have been training their staff members for the most extensive development of public assistance provisions, established on a legal base, that this country has ever known. Agencies are encouraged by staff response to training opportunities.

Even before the war, developing personnel for the program was filled with obstacles. Now there are the added factors of staff turnover and unfilled vacancies in the midst of a general manpower shortage. It is understandable, therefore, that staff experience and education should vary widely from state to state and even within the boundaries of a state. However, if methods of personnel selection have been designed to secure the best qualified personnel available and if agency purposes have been made clear to the public from whom we recruit, staff members will be alike in that they are intelligent and eager to apply their energies to learn how to help people. Agencies are challenged to find and develop the abilities of their staff members and to make creative use of experience in the agency as a learning process. The question, then, is not whether staff mem-

¹ *Staff of State and Local Public Assistance Agencies, July, 1942—June, 1943* (Publication of the Federal Security Agency, Social Security Board, Bureau of Public Assistance, Statistics and Analysis Division, April 25, 1944).

bers can learn, but how they can best learn, and what they can learn effectively within the agency setting.

Agencies are now examining their personnel data more astutely for their significance in developing training programs. They are asking such questions as: What is the rate of turnover among visiting staff—among supervisors? What changes are occurring in qualifications—in age? How should these facts affect orientation plans? In what ways should supervisory services be supplemented? What teaching methods will be effective? In long-range planning, agencies find personnel data significant in suggesting direction of recruitment efforts and in encouraging formal educational opportunities for staff, both graduate and undergraduate.

Individual supervisors are becoming more sensitive to the factors in a worker's background which will contribute to, or interfere with, learning. There is increasing recognition of the importance of every staff member's special contribution and of more imaginative use of these abilities, while the staff member is given an opportunity to develop essential knowledge and skill. The best use of each staff member and the need for blending different strengths call for unusual teamwork and understanding of individual potentialities. Experienced administrators and supervisors need to help the young graduate of a school of social work to make the adjustment from a school setting and to relate theory to agency functions, so that her professional contribution may advance the program. The young graduate needs to make available in useful ways the benefit of his knowledge and skills.

Previous agency experience in developing certain aspects of training also determines current emphasis. In one state, substantial training effort is directed appropriately into providing an extended orientation opportunity including a period of supervision under controlled conditions. Factors determining this plan were the steady rate of staff appointments, intermittent supervision, isolation of visitors, and unusually heavy case loads. Agency evaluation of this experience has resulted in plans for reducing the effects of abrupt transition on assignment to the county. In another state, neither geographical distances nor case loads are so great; supervisory discussions are more frequent; and the state field staff and local supervisors have formulated a base for orientation of the new worker in the county. Agency efforts seemed to be wisely directed toward more consistent use of these opportunities and toward the development of additional planned discussions for groups of staff members under

state office leadership. These illustrations indicate only that specific training programs are influenced by a number of factors and that training within an agency is characterized by a flexible, differential approach, not a fixed or static one.

The learning process in agency settings is profoundly affected by the organization of an agency and its administrative processes. Where a staff member understands the role he is to play, and the role of other staff members, he is free to develop necessary competence and to contribute appropriately to the development of the program. Where staff members are currently informed of agency developments, of changing philosophy and objectives, they will be more ready to accept the changes which necessitate new learning. Attaining coördination of staff effort requires more than preparing a chart which designates responsibilities and flow of authority. Coördination results when the particular knowledge and skill of individuals are productively brought to bear in the solution of a problem. The staff member learns through direct use of his own abilities and his increased knowledge of other phases of the problem as they are contributed by others. Too often, coördination fails because it is limited to a system of checks and balances of complex clearances, the purpose of which is lost in preoccupation with details. The focus then becomes one of maintaining assigned authority, and irritations arise as to function. Such a system does not contribute to the learning process.

Administrators and supervisors in public welfare programs are challenged to maintain free flow and interchange of information and ideas without cumbersome procedures, stultifying to creative work. The answer does not lie in abandoning methods of enriching communication and thought. We know that the answer lies, in part, in the agency's sense of direction which proceeds from the administrator. This sense of direction should contribute to combined effort on essentials, rather than nonessentials. Having achieved a pattern of organization, clear as to basic division of responsibilities and means of staff communication, we know that slavish reliance upon it without consideration of the dynamic nature of agency organizations will lead to following the letter of the law, leaving little energy for achievement of its spirit. Mary P. Follett, the exponent of a philosophy of dynamic administration, says in this connection: "You cannot always bring together the results of departmental activities and expect to coördinate them. You must have an organization which will permit interweaving all along the line. Strand should

weave with strand, and then we shall not have the clumsy task of trying to patch together finished webs.”²

Agencies have learned indisputably that an understanding of policy is not secured through mere issuance of memoranda to the staff, no matter how well the policy may be written. Not only is a knowledge of the underlying objectives of the policy required, but, where the policy involves substantial change, some preparation in terms of awareness of the problems to which it is directed is also essential. These factors lead to emphasis upon the planned participation of staff in the beginning stages of major policy formulation and point to the potentialities for learning in the introduction of policy. In presenting a new policy to a staff, agency supervisors have had more productive results where the staff was given an opportunity to consider the implications in advance: the way it relates to earlier policy; how it affects the client situation; and the knowledge and skill that will be required in its application. A staff member requested to review his case load to determine the number of situations affected by a new policy or to present on a planned basis a case situation affected, begins at once to absorb the change and also direct staff attention to the factors in the individual situation which are pertinent in applying the policy.

More progress has been made by agencies in developing planned orientation discussions than in identifying essential knowledge and skill, which represents a content running through all training activities. Substantial efforts, however, have been made in the latter direction. Recognizing the body of knowledge and understanding required in actual integration of agency philosophy and objectives, some states have established effective staff committees to redefine these objectives. Agencies have begun to raise such questions as: What are the basic essentials in understanding human behavior—which are required and can be learned by the public assistance worker? Planned discussion groups are being held under skilled leadership. Special consultants are being introduced more helpfully into district discussions, and in one Southern state the child welfare and public assistance field staff joined forces in conducting coöperatively district meetings focused on giving staff members a better understanding of the needs of children. Reports on these plans indicated enriched content, stimulation resulting from teamwork, and

² Mary P. Follett, *The Illusion of Final Authority* (first published in 1926; reproduced by permission of the Society for the Advancement of Management), (Publication of the Federal Security Agency, Social Security Board, Bureau of Employment Security Training Section, 1941). See also *Dynamic Administration; The Collected Papers of Mary Parker Follett*, ed. by Henry C. Metcalf and L. Urwick (Harper, 1942).

greater security in working together as they developed teaching skills. In states where agency training objectives are clear, school faculty members have responded by presenting selected aspects of contents, not as school curriculum, but as part of agency training. As we develop the experience of the worker, we do not find it either appropriate or necessary to present the whole of a subject in agency training. We are learning to present with more simplicity that which represents the essence of social work theory in its application to agency function. We can, for instance, help the worker to understand how a client may feel "two ways" about applying for assistance. He may be relieved at taking the first step in meeting his problem, and yet fearful of the possible loss of his own independence in accepting assistance from the agency.

Training programs in the armed forces have provided opportunities for developing technical knowledge for a wide variety of specialized placements. This has demanded a high degree of skill in selection from a body of subject matter previously believed impossible to present in such a limited context and brief span of time. Of course, pressure on students in army training has been great, and it is difficult to tell how fully the information has been absorbed. Yet, general observations indicate that careful sifting of subject matter focused on practical application has resulted in better equipping an unprecedented number of men for hazardous performance. A factor of major significance is the powerful emotional motivation for learning which may well be present in this war-training situation which is so unlike the normal pattern of living. Although elements in this emotional drive produce an anxiety which may, for some men, be expected to interfere with ready learning, it normally serves as an impetus. Where the reaction to anxiety results in serious blockage, it is assumed that men are dropped from the training. Better understanding of the part that emotions play in the educative process should result from psychological appraisal of this experience.

As agencies plan for developing more organized discussions of content, they are recognizing the importance of utilizing fully staff members' contributions from their experience, as the basis for applying newly learned theory. New workers especially need help in fully understanding how to apply the agency's policies and procedures so that the client in reality is kept at the center of attention. At first a new worker may be impressed with the routines and facts she must learn in order to deal with the mechanics of the job. A supervisor, then, will need to help the worker to see how her use of policies, procedures, and mechanics affect the client, and to develop under-

standing and skill in her dealings with individuals. Usually a deeper understanding of the real meaning of assistance to the individual occurs as the visitor develops experience in working with people, and as supervisors encourage the visitor to examine specifically their method of handling the interview with the client.

After two months of experience in an isolated rural community, a visitor without specialized pre-entry education began to question the way in which she was discussing the assistance plan with clients. The supervisor encouraged her to explore the problem. After adopting, experimentally, a different approach in several interviews, she reported her observations. She noted her own dissatisfaction with an approach which did not focus on the client, and satisfaction in having found a way to improve her skills. The statements of the worker reflect a conscious effort to observe and evaluate her own performance.

The worker says of her work, "First, I knew that there was something wrong with the method I was using to secure information for the budget, and, second, something was lacking in the recording of the information." When the supervisor suggested that she work out her own approach to the client, she looked upon this as a "challenge and new range of freedom." She says, "I started out with the known fact that my budgets were lifeless. Then I asked, 'Why were they lifeless?' I decided that in order to make the budget a vital, interesting part of the interview, somehow, some way, I had to put the client into it." She later comments:

There are several ways of approaching a budget, just as there are different ways of approaching a house. The socially accepted way to approach a house is to approach the outer premises, come to the door, rap, and be invited into the room by the host or hostess. Entrance to the room could be made by other approaches. One could come down the alley and barge through the back door, or he could steal along the side of the house, silently raise a window, and climb into the room. If entrance to the room is the objective, each person could attain his objective by using a different approach. Here was my trouble in budget making—I was barging through the back door, or creeping through the window. From my records, it is obvious that I had not been invited in.

She describes how she opened the discussion:

When I reached the point in my interview where I usually started making the budget, I leaned back in my chair, relaxed as if my work had been completed, and asked a simple question, "I suppose you are having to do some real managing to make your money meet all your needs since

the cut has started?" The client's immediate response was that he could not read and did not want people to think he was complaining, but the reason for the cuts had never been clear to him. The reason was explained, and he said he was glad they had raised the checks twenty cents last month.

There follows an account of the client's spontaneous description of his particular circumstances and needs. The worker raises a question regarding the result of her little experiment and the extra interest and time spent with the client, since, after all, the amount of the assistance would have been the same. She answers her own question by saying:

It opened up a way by which I have been able to carry my client right along with me to the final decision of the amount of his grant. . . . I no longer see \$6.00 for rent in the budget; I see the recipient because, in discussing the amount of rent, I learn whether he is satisfied or dissatisfied with his present living arrangements. I asked him about his home, not just how much rent he pays.

The above is presented, not as an illustration of practice in assistance planning, but rather as an illustration of the way in which a worker has been stimulated to a thoughtful examination of her own experience. Such a contribution also illustrates how a worker's experience may be used appropriately as a basis for group discussion.

Job methods training introduced by the War Manpower Commission, and adapted in developing a work simplification program in the Social Security Board,³ is a well-known training activity. The purposes of the work simplification program are to improve and simplify the work of the agency by making the greatest possible use of the thinking of every person on the pay roll; to develop employees by stimulating orderly thinking, and by training them how to work out improved methods and to present their ideas in a usable form. As developed in the Board, the program was organized around a group working with their supervisors. Simple principles of analyzing work methods are presented. Each employee applies these principles to some part of his work and presents an improved method of operation. The selected operation is broken down into detailed steps, and the following questions are applied: Why is it necessary? What is its purpose? Where should it be done? When should it be done? Who should do it? How is the best way to do it?

As a training method, this plan illustrates several points per-

³For discussion of this program see Stuart Chase, "The Story of Social Security," *Reader's Digest*, April, 1944.

tinent to the emphasis presented here. Staff members are stimulated to make a useful contribution to development of the program; they are given a few simple suggestions to help them make this contribution; inexperienced supervisors are helped to see concretely how they may stimulate and develop employee initiative and how supervisory discussion may be used practically for constructive planning; the spirit of inquiry is kept alive; discussion of principles is vitalized through the creation of an actual experience for application; employees are encouraged by seeing the results of their efforts; and skill in presenting ideas is developed in relation to an actual problem.

It is recognized that training within an agency differs markedly from education in an established curriculum, especially in its fundamental educational objective. Method and content also differ, although similar elements appear in a well-conceived agency training program. Agency training can never have either the depth or the breadth of formal education. This is not to say that constructive learning does not take place in an agency. The psychological concept of learning, as a continuous process throughout life, denies such a conclusion. Educational institutions can seldom achieve the rich laboratory for applying principles usually found in a dynamic agency. Agencies cannot attain the disciplined educational results possible through organized study in an institution whose primary function is education. These differences are recalled because they are pertinent to our search for more effective ways of learning in agency settings. We need to conserve those opportunities for learning to which agency conditions are especially favorable.

Experience in agency training has pointed consistently to several simple principles of modern education especially applicable to the circumstance of learning on the job. These will serve to summarize the earlier discussion:

1. Motivation is essential in learning. This motivation can be a particularly vigorous incentive where the need for knowledge is a natural outgrowth of an individual's current experience.

2. Learning is more rapid when the value and usefulness of knowledge is recognized.

3. New ideas must be tied up with knowledge already acquired; in other words, the unfamiliar must be related to the familiar. Bertha C. Reynolds aptly states, "Teaching which begins with the learners makes it possible to elicit and use any background as a base for further learning."⁴

⁴ Bertha C. Reynolds, *Learning and Teaching in the Practice of Social Work* (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, 1942).

Abraham Flexner, in response to an inquiry regarding his success in preparing boys for college entrance examinations, made the following remarks:

I told him it was all very simple, that I treated these boys as individuals, and that I let each go at his own pace. I took hold of pupils where they were strong, not where they were weak, and having whetted their appetite by success in one field, usually succeeded in arousing interest in another. I did not persist in vainly attempting the impossible and thus perhaps spoiling all.⁵

4. Individuals learn as they make active application of ideas presented to actual problems. The emphasis of training in the armed forces, in providing experiences as closely simulating actual ones as possible, is an extreme adaptation of the idea. Job methods training is another illustration. In planned group discussions, agencies have successfully used the project method, focusing the supervisor's attention, for example, upon developing a plan for case load analysis based on supervisory methods discussed; or, more simply, using a few questions as a basis for analyzing a case record.

5. People learn in different ways and often require a combination of opportunities; not everybody likes or learns by reading—Christmas sales to the contrary.

6. Limits of absorption of new knowledge are difficult to determine, but are affected by the extent of related knowledge or experience, as well as by the nature of information presented. This is a factor which is especially significant to agencies in planning for presenting specific areas of content. Alternating general discussions with periods for committee work has been found helpful. Use of illustrative materials also focuses attention on the application of new ideas. The results of taking on too much information sometimes appears as resistance to ideas presented. The old rigidity is more comfortable.

Dr. Franz Alexander's psychoanalytic interpretation of the forces in our political, economic, and cultural backgrounds in *Our Age of Unreason* emphasizes two concepts which are especially significant in understanding the factors affecting the learning process of workers engaged in public assistance. The first of these is rigidity of automatic behavior. Changing well-learned routines may not be as easy as it sounds. Workers may find it infinitely easier to make "visits to relatives routinely" than on a selective basis, since the

⁵ Abraham Flexner, *I Remember—the Autobiography of Abraham Flexner* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1940).

latter requires thought processes yet unestablished. As Dr. Alexander points out, "what is advantageous for learning, the ability to transform past experiences into automatisms, becomes an obstacle when automatic behavior must be changed." The concept of cultural lag is significant, not only because it gives supervisors a better understanding of those workers whose social attitudes have not kept pace with modern concepts of public assistance, but because it re-enforces our conviction that interpretation of program philosophy and objectives is not the easy task we sometimes imply. Dr. Alexander says:

The phenomenon of cultural lag, however, in the last analysis, is always the result of psychological factors, and consists in the persistence of social attitudes which have evolved gradually and represent adjustment to previous conditions, which have outlived their usefulness. . . . We have seen that the discrepancies between the traditional behavior patterns and the new conditions appear subjectively in feelings of insecurity and discontent.⁶

What of future education? Some staff members will seek opportunities for professional education better to equip them for a job in which their performance has already indicated ability. Others, for whom this is impossible, will encourage those whom they influence to seek such educational opportunities. Training in an agency which broadens the horizons of staff members should lead them to a disciplined pursuit of knowledge in an educational institution. From this group, then, we shall build personnel more competent through both education and experience to participate in meeting the problems of a postwar world.

⁶ Franz Alexander, *Our Age of Unreason* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1942).

THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE SCHOOLS OF SOCIAL WORK FOR TRAINING FOR THE PUBLIC WELFARE SERVICES

By *GRACE BROWNING*

THE TRADITIONAL INTEREST of the schools of social work in personnel for the public welfare services has varied according to the point of view of their individual leaders. Outstanding have been a few farsighted schools which from their inception have fought vigorously for the establishment of public welfare agencies and whose graduates have furnished the shock troops of public service. Members of such faculties have been part of every major public welfare movement for more than a quarter of a century. They have done much of the creative writing and the editing of source material in the public welfare field. They have served as public agency board and committee members and as consultants to agencies, have conducted study groups and institutes, and have geared their summer programs and regular curricula to the needs of the agencies. There is no rod by which to measure the depth and breadth of such contributions.

At the other extreme have been schools such as the two that, as late as 1940, still offered no courses in public welfare.¹ Other schools only in the last decade have shifted their interest to this rapidly growing field. There is no question, however, that the American Association of Schools of Social Work today is concerned with finding ways of making an even greater contribution to public welfare.

The history of professional education for social work is short, the first school having been established but forty-six years ago. Since then the profession has moved from an apprenticeship point of view to standards of graduate professional education as the basis for competence in social work. Today the schools are committed to the belief that there is a common content of practice in all agencies and

¹ American Association of Schools of Social Work, *Education for the Public Welfare Services* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942), p. 177.

that the focus of professional education should be preparation for the field of social work, yet they recognize that when a student goes to an agency he should have acquired sufficient specialization in some one area to make him useful to that agency.

Consequently, there is a basic minimum curriculum in the schools, augmented by additional content in specialized fields. According to a recent report of the Curriculum Committee of the Association,² the subject matter which should be required of all students would include public welfare research, community organization, fundamentals of human behavior, psychopathology, case work, and group work. Specialized courses in the public welfare field and in closely related fields now offered by many schools include material on public assistance, public child welfare, administration of public agencies and institutions, financing of public welfare, personnel administration, treatment of delinquency and crime, the courts and social work, social insurance, housing, public employment services, public health, public medical care, and social legislation.

The schools recognize that not only does the student who is planning to enter public welfare need a wide range of knowledge, but also he needs skill in working with individuals and with the community, and for many positions he needs skill in administration. Unfortunately, at the present time only a minority of public welfare employees have had an opportunity to obtain the training afforded by two years of graduate work. It is, in fact, somewhat sobering to look at enrollment figures in comparison with present personnel needs.

As of November 1, 1943, the total number of graduate students enrolled in the forty-two approved schools, and majoring in social work was 4,009, an increase of 228 over the figure for 1942. Only 2,028 of this number, however, were full-time students, a decrease of 126 since 1942. The total number of students taking some work in the schools during the year 1942-43 was 8,824, but the total number who received a higher degree was only 880.³

Even as registration has declined, the need for graduates has increased, and agencies have in many instances had to employ untrained workers. There were, for example, on June 20, 1943, 1,062 professional positions budgeted in the fifty-two plans for child wel-

² American Association of Schools of Social Work, "Final Report on the Work and Recommendations of the Curriculum Committee," mimeographed, April 10, 1944.

³ American Association of Schools of Social Work, "Report on Students in Schools of Social Work," mimeographed, November 1, 1943.

fare services, and of this number, 409, or 39 percent, were unfilled. In the past, most of these positions have been based on standards requiring professional education in social work, but recently many of the states have had to lower their qualifications.⁴

A recent study made by the Bureau of Public Assistance indicates that out of the estimated total of forty-five thousand employees of public assistance agencies, 26,500 were classified as "executives and social workers." One would assume that for the majority of those positions preparation in social work would be needed.⁵

Another study is concerned with the educational background of public assistance personnel at the time of their entering the service. Preliminary figures quoted in Karl De Schweinitz's study, *Training for Social Security*,⁶ indicated that approximately 2 percent of the workers in the beginning positions in public assistance had some training, including field work, in the graduate schools of social work, while an additional 3 percent had taken one course or more. Twenty-two percent of the supervisors had some training, including field work, and an additional 20.5 percent had taken one or more courses.

According to supplementary figures furnished by the Bureau of Public Assistance, significantly higher percentages are indicated for selected positions in the state offices of the twenty-eight state agencies that voluntarily reported data. Twenty percent of the members of state field staffs had a certificate or degree from a school of social work; 29 percent had had some study, including field work; 12 percent had had courses only; making a total of 61 percent with some graduate social work education.

Of the executives and consultants included in the study, 18 percent had certificates or degrees; 34 percent had had some study including field work; while 9 percent had had courses only; a total for this group also of 61 percent who had received some graduate education in a school of social work. These figures do not reflect education acquired after appointment to a particular class. The influence of the workers trained by the schools evidently would be far greater than mere numbers indicate because they are so placed

⁴United States Children's Bureau, "State Developments in Use and Training of Personnel in Child Welfare Programs," mimeographed, January 15, 1944.

⁵Federal Security Agency, Social Security Board, Bureau of Public Assistance, Statistics and Analysis Division, "Staff of State and Local Public Assistance Agencies, July 1942—June 1943," multilithed, April 25, 1944.

⁶Karl De Schweinitz, assisted by Neota Larson, *Training for Social Security*, a report to the Social Security Board, September 21, 1943.

in the organizations that they exert considerable influence on program and policy as well as on the untrained staff.

Figures concerning personnel in other public welfare services are fragmentary. It is common knowledge, however, that significant numbers of staff members of the Federal agencies (both permanent and temporary) are graduates of schools of social work. An uncounted number of social work positions exist in the public institutions, in the school systems, the courts, the health departments and medical care programs, but comprehensive data are lacking concerning existing vacancies and also concerning the professional background of the workers who are employed in these positions.

The numerical discrepancy between the supply and the need becomes acutely apparent when the figure of 880 graduates of the schools in 1943 is compared with the 2,200 estimated vacancies in public assistance agencies alone.

Various methods have been tried by the schools to increase enrollment. Strenuous efforts have been made to obtain appropriations for a Federal training program and, failing that, to increase scholarships from other sources. The number of public agency scholarships held by students in schools of social work increased from 127 on November 1, 1942, to 140 on November 1, 1943. On the latter date, 403 students held private agency scholarships, and 348 held scholarships supplied entirely from funds of the schools, a total of less than 1,000 students.

Twenty-seven schools out of thirty-eight studied recently provided early morning or evening courses for the benefit of employed workers. Other students are reached through various work-study plans involving part-time employment in a social agency and part-time enrollment in a school. The total number of part-time students in schools of social work exceeded the number of full-time students in 1943, and in many cities there has been increased interest in the use of the part-time curriculum.⁷

Although requests for extramural classes for public welfare staffs to be given away from one school are frequently received, experience with them has not proved very successful. It is usually considered better when such courses are undertaken to give them on a noncredit basis and to plan them with the agency in relation to its total program of in-service training. As of November 1, 1943, a total of 75 graduate students and 105 undergraduates was registered in these extramural courses. A more significant effort to meet needs in

⁷ American Association of Schools of Social Work, "Report of the Sub-Committee on Part-Time Curriculum," mimeographed.

areas where schools do not now exist is the establishment of branches in cities accessible to school faculties. This has been done successfully in two cities. Many schools which heretofore had not conducted summer sessions have gone on a year-around schedule in order to make it possible for students to complete the professional program in less than the two full calendar years.

Notwithstanding all these efforts to meet the shortage of workers, it still remains clear that public welfare needs, not to mention those of other agencies, cannot be met in their entirety by the schools of social work at the present time. Certain limitations arise in part from the unprecedented growth of professional opportunities in a period of depression, followed by a war and the shrinkage of governmental scholarships and private endowment funds, one or both of which are necessary to help meet the costs of professional education.

It is natural, under these circumstances, that schools of social work and public welfare agencies should give increased attention to the possibility of securing help from the liberal arts colleges. Within the last two years there has been a number of area conferences between faculties of schools of social work and the faculties of liberal arts colleges to discuss their common interest in recruitment and professional education. Plans are underway then for strengthening the teaching of the social sciences in the colleges, for better vocational guidance of students with an interest in social work, and for a closer relationship between the colleges and the graduate schools in the development of curriculum.

A movement is also under way among the land grant colleges and universities in the South and West. They have formed a separate association for the purpose of accrediting schools that are preparing social workers on an undergraduate basis. It is to be hoped that a way will be found to bring the two movements together in their thinking. The hope for the future of professional education lies in unity rather than in a dichotomy between the undergraduate colleges and the graduate schools.

An Association Committee on Pre-social Work Education ⁸ reports that some colleges are developing what are called social science or "pre-social work" majors, cutting across departments to give the student a program which includes political science, economics, psychology, sociology, and cultural anthropology. Courses closely related to social work that are being taught successfully to under-

⁸ American Association of Schools of Social Work, "Report of the Committee on Pre-social Work Education," mimeographed, January 17, 1944.

graduates include the history of social welfare, the historical aspects of labor problems, certain general aspects of public health, the field of social work, survey courses in community and social welfare, government in relation to welfare, and general courses in statistical methods and in interviewing. There is need of further experimentation and study in this area, but any courses that are offered must be pulled into a planned series and taught by competent faculty members if they are to constitute sound preprofessional education.

The committee believes that field work as it is now developed in schools of social work should be retained at the graduate level, "because it involves the integration of theory and practice, and full responsibility for practice cannot be entrusted to an immature person regardless of his intellectual capacity." As a substitute for field work the committee suggests limited participation under direction in social agencies.

My personal conviction is that this is valid with respect to that group of college seniors who have had no work experience and who are from eighteen to twenty-one years of age. When thinking, however, of the needs of that considerable group of public welfare employees who have had successful employment experience in an agency and later seek professional education, flexibility is desirable on the part of the schools of social work in admitting them to technical courses including field work and case work while they are still candidates for the Bachelor's degree. Not only could they master the content of the technical courses, but also this would do much to stimulate them to complete their college education. It is often the barrier of one or two years of study, seemingly unrelated to professional needs, that deters this group from completing their college education.

In general, however, for the young college student the goal of the undergraduate program should be, not a narrow vocational education, but a broad foundation which will help him to understand the community, the individual, and the social and economic forces which give rise to and influence social welfare organization. The graduate who enters the public agency as a visitor following such a college program will be vastly more useful, particularly if the agency's in-service training plan provides for his induction and subsequent supervision by professional staff members. The schools are not only scrutinizing undergraduate curriculum, but they are also examining their own offerings. Several recent studies are indicative

of a wholesome self-criticism and of a real desire to bring teaching closer to the needs of the public welfare field. In connection with each of these studies, the Association has made an effort to obtain from operating agencies criticisms of present educational content and suggestions for revision. The 1942 Association study of *Education for the Public Welfare Services* called attention to deficiencies in curriculum with reference to administration, economics, government, health, and the rural aspects of the public social services. It noted particularly the existence of perplexing problems in the adaptation of curriculum in the case work field to the needs of public agencies.

In November, 1943, the Association undertook a brief study of the social welfare services that had arisen from war needs and their implications for professional education. Agency representatives who were interviewed in connection with that study re-emphasized the need for more training in public administration and asked for greater skills in community organization and for a broad preparation that would make it possible for the graduates to work with other professions in related fields, such as health, housing, and social insurance.⁹

The Curriculum Committee also asked public administrators to comment on current demands for professional workers and the adequacy of present curricula of the schools of social work. In response, the public agencies indicated a need for case workers in family and child welfare, visiting teachers, probation officers, medical and psychiatric social workers, supervisors, consultants, and persons trained in research. Several mentioned the need for workers for certain positions who had training in more than one field, as, for example, a combination of case work, administration, and community organization, or a combination of case work and group work. There was fairly general agreement that none of the present curriculum content could well be eliminated, but again there were many suggestions for increased emphasis on administration and community organization, supervision, and the social insurances.

Child welfare agencies were concerned that more help should be given with some of the problems intensified by the war and with refresher courses for practicing social workers. The only field of training for public service mentioned which has received little attention from schools of social work is that of preparation for work

⁹ Arlien Johnson, "Professional Education for the Social Services," mimeographed, American Association of Schools of Social Work, May, 1943.

with law-enforcement agencies.¹⁰ Obviously, there are difficulties in the way of incorporating all the demands of the field into a two-year curriculum which is already "bursting at the seams."

Limitations of funds and of personnel as well as of time stand in the way of fully implementing agency recommendations. Except for a few which are operating with substantial endowment funds or foundation grants, the schools are handicapped by small budgets. Although the Association's figures on the number of faculty in member schools are not exact, there are at most only a few more than the 200 full-time faculty members reported as of last year. The number of part-time faculty members exceeds the number of those who are giving full time. Any average of the number of faculty members per school would be fallacious since most of the one-year schools are operating with the required minimum of two full-time members, and many two-year schools have but three. Many schools must look to the public agencies to provide staff for field work instruction, and they have been hampered in this area at times by the lack of qualified personnel in the agencies.

As closer correlation is achieved between undergraduate and graduate curricula and as students decide earlier on their choice of profession, some of the material now being taught on a graduate level can be given on an undergraduate basis, thus relieving the crowded curriculum in the advanced program to some extent. Present graduate content should also be strengthened in certain areas.

Perhaps the graduate schools should face the possibility that their greatest present contribution to the public welfare services lies in the preparation of administrators, supervisors, field representatives, child welfare workers, and specialized and general case consultants who can aid in the development of untrained and partially trained staff members. This does not mean that the schools would not continue to aid in the preparation of beginning workers wherever possible, but it does mean that they should give increased attention to the content of knowledge and the development of skills needed for advanced positions. This will necessitate an adequate faculty familiar with the needs of public welfare agencies and convinced of the importance of preparing leadership for them.

A move in the direction of developing teaching materials appropriate to this emphasis was made last fall when the Association ap-

¹⁰ American Association of Schools of Social Work, "Report to the Curriculum Committee from National and State Agencies regarding Curriculum Content and Changes in the Field of Practice," mimeographed, January 15, 1944.

pointed a committee made up of representatives of school faculties and members of the staff of the Bureau of Public Assistance. This committee is working to develop current teaching materials from the files of public agencies, Federal, state, and local. It has already made considerable progress and has plans under way through which it hopes to incorporate into the schools' courses the fruits of experience of the agency staffs who are developing sound principles and practice in public assistance administration. This is recognized as merely a beginning, and similar joint projects are planned for other areas of public welfare.

Other possibilities for improving preparation for public welfare lie in a freer interchange of personnel between the operating agencies and the schools. There is a trend toward bringing personnel from public agencies to the schools, either for temporary teaching assignments or on a permanent basis. Financial and other limitations have made it hard for many schools to give leaves with pay to faculty members so that they may obtain experience in newer fields of practice, but agencies could help by recognizing teaching in a school of social work as qualifying experience for supervisory and administrative positions, so that teachers may more easily return to the field periodically. Otherwise, they are frequently disqualified from public service on the basis of their lack of recent agency experience.

The Committee on Public Assistance Teaching Materials hopes to arrange round tables for teachers of public welfare, drawing on personnel of the state and Federal agencies to enrich the discussions. Much of the content demanded by the field is in reality advanced content, and only as more public welfare workers with experience return to the schools for advanced education will there be students ready to use it. Such students should have available to them field work opportunities in community organization and administration as well as in case work.

Much of the criticism of workers who have attended schools of social work has arisen because needs have been so great that public welfare agencies have overplaced partially trained or inexperienced workers. A school can give a foundation of knowledge and make a beginning in teaching skill, but no student who has never worked, regardless of her ability, will be ready to move into a position which requires seasoned maturity of judgment such as must be derived from progressive agency experience.

Public welfare agencies can help with this problem by compiling minimum specifications for beginning positions wherever practicable on the basis of a good liberal arts education, with preference

given to social science majors and without any experience requirement. Thus there will be recruited to the field promising young people oriented to social and economic problems. Salaries commensurate with this requirement will be a necessity. Promotions and, to some extent, salary increments could then be based on the attainment of some professional education rather than on experience alone, thus offering an incentive to the worker to increase his competence through education. Agencies also need to think in terms of the further development of work-study plans and a more extensive use of educational leaves with pay, selecting for these leaves persons with potentialities for leadership.

The schools and the profession must see that merit systems and operating agencies maintain personnel standards and policies that provide for competent operation of the agencies, reasonable case loads and an opportunity to the worker for growth and development. This whole question of competent personnel is a joint responsibility. It is all too true that the school has sometimes been remote from current public welfare practice, but often it has been in advance. The schools can and should constantly and objectively evaluate the developments in the agencies and impart to their students the best methods, together with a sound philosophy of nonpartisan, efficient, humanitarian administration. Schools should provide a combination of a realistic grasp of everyday problems and procedures in the public agency and a long, broad perspective. Then their teachings, like the dissenting opinions of the Supreme Court, may constitute minority thinking today and accepted public policy tomorrow.

SOCIAL ACTION AND PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

By MARION HATHWAY

PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION for social work is based on less than fifty years of experience with attempts to develop a body of knowledge and to clarify methods of establishing and administering social services to individuals and groups. Because of its close relationship to practice, the emphasis in the educational process has changed from time to time, as agency leadership has pressed the case of need for special skill. Undergirding these shifts in emphasis has been an ever-increasing conviction on the part of the educators that preparation for social work can be made general and basic to the whole field of practice. The varied demands of war period will, I believe, carry this process forward to a point where both schools and agencies are in more complete agreement concerning the professional equipment with which a social worker should leave the school. This will not happen unless both education and practice join together in continuous study and evaluation of experience.

One of the areas which needs research and experimentation is that of the professional responsibility for social action in the field of practice and the objectives and methods of preparing young persons to assume this responsibility effectively. For surely as we examine the record we will ask: Is the social worker prepared to contribute to the formation of broad policies in the field of the social services and to influence their development in this direction, or is he equipped only to administer a service in a setting established and molded by someone else? What is the place of such preparation in the schools of social work, and what is actually being accomplished by the educators to equip students to be the leaders of the future?

Presumably, the schools have considered social action as one of the responsibilities for which students are being prepared. Judging by the results of their efforts, however, they have not been too successful. Leaders in the field, especially in the newer public social services, have been critical of the limited ability of school graduates

to carry responsibilities for shaping and furthering policies. A state welfare director writes:

As I have observed many professional social workers, too many of them have seemed to me to be only technicians, lacking breadth and depth. In this war period the one conspicuous lack seems to be a sense of the importance of effective community organization and the methods of bringing it about.

A discussion of what the schools are doing to prepare students for the varied activities described by the term "social action," therefore, seems to be an appropriate step in identifying ways and means of greater achievement. To assemble such information, a questionnaire was sent to the schools of social work: "What preparation for the role of the social worker in social action does your faculty believe should be included in the two year professional curriculum?" "What is the nature of this preparation in your school?" The response from thirty-one out of forty schools was immediate and generous, and hopefully provides a preliminary exploration of what is done in the schools that are preparing 3,600 of the 4,500 students who are enrolled in the social work schools.

The problems in the field of social action which the students present to the faculties appear to be of three general classifications. One group is related to the social setting in which social work functions and includes labor relations, public assistance standards, race relations, housing, standards of living, and essential community planning in the social service field. A second group concerns the general relationship of social work to other professions, such as law, medicine, and teaching. A third is concerned with steps which the social worker may take to effect social action. Some students want help in clarifying the philosophical relationship between social work and social action: "Is it possible to do social work without becoming involved in social action?" Others have accepted that social action has a place in social work, but are asking how and where: "What is my responsibility as a professional social worker?" "Can social work effect social change, or is it only palliative?" "How far should I go as a professional social worker in interpreting the program of my agency as a basis for social action when I am employed by the agency?" "Can an individual take part in social action if the agency of which he is a member is not inclined to do so?" "What methods of social action are professionally acceptable?" These questions lead to the very heart of the subject, and it is interesting to turn to the replies which the schools are prepared to make.

The schools agree that the students should understand the role of the social worker in social change, but the extent to which there is agreement concerning the nature of the role was not possible to determine. One dean writes:

The faculty believes that the curriculum should prepare the student for his role in social action with an awareness of the problems which call for social action and of his need as a social worker to be constantly alert to such problems; a sense of the social worker's peculiar responsibility because of his superior advantage for bringing these problems to the attention of those who may or should be concerned with their solution; an awareness and understanding of channels of social action open to him as a citizen as well as a social worker; an understanding of the realities which the social worker faces when he engages in social action.

Another faculty "makes a conscious effort to introduce the concept of social action as one of the main functions of a social worker." "In most of the courses offered in the school," writes a third dean, "the role of the social worker in bringing about a change in the handling of social problems is discussed."

Still another dean writes:

I believe that the professional responsibility of the social worker is a dual one. First, to render to particular plans at the highest possible level of professional competency specific services set up by social agencies within its designated function. Second, to contribute as far as possible to the modification of circumstances, either in politics, law or environmental facts, which prevent the effective performance of needed services or the fruitful use of them by members of the community. This second responsibility seems to me to involve "social action," and I believe that as a result of training, social workers should be equipped both to deserve and accept this kind of responsibility so as to discharge it competently. Part of this is related to the social worker's own technical service for clients; part of it is included in a broad view of the problems and processes of community organization; part of it is derived from a study of the substance and processes of legislation and the relation of government to social work and social workers. Somewhere in the curriculum the vision and capacity of the student in this area of practice should be stimulated and developed.

There is some reason to believe, however, that the role of the social worker in social action has not been thoughtfully considered or effectively undertaken in certain schools. In four instances, at least, no definite conclusions had been reached.

Social action may constitute the subject matter of a special course, or it may be a philosophic base of other courses in the curriculum.

The present tendency is to integrate the material of social action within various divisions of the curriculum. Several schools are definitely opposed to organizing specific courses in the field of social action. "It would be a mistake," writes one dean, "to develop a special course on social action, while it seems most important to point out both the challenge and the opportunity for action wherever possible." Writes another:

I think it shares the characteristics of professional ethics and the philosophy of social work, something to be integrated with all the courses, partly because at the present time method in those subjects is imperfect and perhaps not well understood; partly because the application of these three areas is more realistically made in the discussions of our unique fields, such as case work and group work, community organization, public welfare and child welfare.

A few schools are questioning whether or not the time has come for the organizing of specific content in the field of social action. "We are all agreed," one director writes, "that social action as a goal of social work is an accepted concept by every instructor in this school, and that every course contains some emphasis on this. But if we did all that we say we are doing, why should social workers be so ineffective in committee groups and before legislatures?"

Among significant recent achievements of the American Association of Schools of Social Work is the report of the Curriculum Committee which has recently completed an analysis of materials and the formulation of objectives for the basic courses offered in the first year of study in the professional school. The reports of subcommittees on case work, group work, community organization, social research, and public welfare have been made available. Brief comments on each report will indicate the direction in which the schools are moving in this respect.

If one can rely on the conclusions of the subcommittee, the content of case work as visualized offers little opportunity for relating service to the individual to the process of social change. To quote from the report:

The specific objectives of the basic social case work course are to develop in the student a philosophy which gives direction to his work; this philosophy to be based on respect for the individual and his rights to self-determination within the limits set by society, the individual's inherent capacity, the stress of his problem, and the policy of the agency; to give the student knowledge of the setting in which the agency functions; to enable the student to understand and to develop some skill in

the use of the method and process of social case work; and to give the student an understanding of the importance of an ethical code and of professional integrity. . . . The purpose of relationship is understood as a means to an end, i.e., the end of serving the client, of meeting his needs, of assisting him to improve his situation. It is understood that a given agency can meet only those needs the client recognizes or can be helped to recognize, and which it is set up to meet; but that the worker has an obligation to enable the client to find assistance elsewhere when her agency does not offer the service he requests and should have.

The student who is concerned about the substandard housing and low assistance standards in his community will find scant comfort in perfecting his skill in the narrow bounds of this teaching objective. Fortunately, there is substantial deviation in the actual teaching if the statement of faculty members in the case work field can be used as a measure of disagreement. "In case work," writes one, "the need for community action is constantly considered in relation to individual needs and the duty of the social worker to seek opportunities for bearing witness to actual conditions requiring improvement is stressed." According to another:

In the advanced case work class there is a constant effort to look beyond the individual case into the implication for other cases. The individual case is examined in relationship to similar cases in the agency, the community, or the country. Questions are raised as to the necessity of this sort of case always representing the problem of individual case work. Questions are posed as to whether community education and legislative action might remove the reasons behind the necessity of individual case work in this particular instance. As the class interest is aroused, the discussion goes on to case work related to community education and legislative action. The class examines the responsibilities of an agency, its executive and its individual case workers toward problems that arise in these areas.

One teacher writes:

Although teaching methods used in our class deal with all individuals the general emphasis has been on the family, its members and the way they function as individuals and as a group, with due regard to all of the factors influencing their function in a day-to-day life. Because of this approach to case work as a method of philosophy, we become immediately aware of the constant impact of culture and environment upon the individual. When these forces are harmful to the individual or family, it follows that the awareness of this harm is authority enough to move a social worker into an area of performance called prevention, and this is done through social action—philosophy and method. I believe too that

all social workers can be effective as individuals or as members of groups in this effort, and that it is as much a part of practice as preventive medicine on an individual basis or on a community-wide basis is a part of sound practice in medicine. . . . When the students have reached the point where they see the necessity for social action, that a social worker can and should participate or take leadership, we discuss the various methods—relationships to colleagues, to employers, and to the agency, the council, public relief and other agencies, public and private.

These teachers have employed social action as a catalytic agent which precipitates more detailed study and consideration in other aspects of the curriculum. The alertness of the worker to conditions which require community action is the objective.

Group work, impelled by the very nature of the framework in which the process is rooted, provides the teacher with a greater opportunity for integrating a social philosophy of progress and change in the environment than does case work. Therefore it is not surprising to find the subcommittee stating as the objectives of the basic course:

. . . understanding of the social implications and meaning of social process in group interaction as it is pertinent to professional activities in social work, and the understanding of concepts and methods which underlie any conscious effort to give purpose and direction to the group process in the development of the individual and the group.

A professor of group work writes:

In the practice course in group work, the students learn to apply their knowledge of the dynamics of individual and social behavior to the groups which they lead in their field work assignments. The focus of the course is to teach the student to fulfill the function of the leaders of groups of varying size and types of organization. The culmination of the course is some original research through analyses of records of groups to discover how the leader performed his function. The project this year was in the field of race relations. Each student culled his records to find those situations which presented opportunity of intercultural-interracial education, and wrote a term paper on "The Opportunity of the Group Worker for Intercultural-Interracial Education." The material collected dealt largely with Negro-white groups and Jewish-Gentile groups. Prejudice on the part of each of the other was dramatically exhibited in the regular programs of groups of varying kinds. The group workers found it necessary to handle the fears of one group about the other, to correct much misinformation, to impart new knowledge, to provide opportunities for face-to-face contact, to stimulate new interests and to accept the hostility and intolerance of one group of the other.

From an examination of material received there is little doubt that the content of community organization does not represent the agreement which is present in certain other aspects of the curriculum in social work. The contrast between the teaching of community organization as the organization of social welfare activities in the community and the emphasis upon the process or relationship of groups within the community is still very real. In spite of these differences, however, there is progress toward a common basis, if the work of the study committees of the Community Organization Section of the National Conference of Social Work and of the curriculum subcommittee of the schools may be taken as indicative of trends, both in practice and in teaching. The Conference committee found the essence of community organization to be the "adjustment between social welfare resources and social welfare needs." This adjustment is envisaged by the Curriculum Committee of the American Association of Schools of Social Work as "process of social work."

Whatever may be the differences of definition, there seems to be little disagreement on the part of the teachers of community organization over the inclusion of the process of social action within the content of this course. One faculty member considers that the course in community organization is a course in social action. Another believes that it is only one phase of the field of community organization, but a phase which needs extensive development and establishment as a special course. According to a third:

Discussion of social action and methods of accomplishing it are woven throughout the course. The students acquire information concerning channels for social action through an analysis of community organization case records; by the analysis of problems woven into the class discussion; by review of the literature on the subject of social action; by an analysis of the relationship between individual social workers and social agencies to the council of social agencies or other coördinating bodies.

"The faculty member," comments a dean, "who teaches our course in community organization looks upon community organization as social action, and covers a great deal of specific material in social workers' skill in this field." Another faculty believes that the techniques for promoting social change are all incorporated in community organization.

Several schools indicate a reliance on field instruction to give the student an understanding of how to function as a social worker along with other groups in communities interested in social action.

There is reference to the use of community resources in case work and group work to provide such experience for the student, and to opportunities to engage in activities within the agencies where students are placed for field practice.

One school attempts to place its students in group work "in agencies committed to social action with supervisors who are themselves deeply concerned with current affairs and independent enough to stimulate their groups to social action." As an illustration, writes a faculty member,

. . . one of the students was assigned to a Girl Reserve program which served an equal number of Negro and white high school girls. Recently the Girl Reserves arranged for a skating party at the most popular roller rink. When the manager became aware that a considerable number of Negro youth were to be present, the arrangement was canceled. The girls were all steamed up. One result is a one-day conference planned on "Youth Fights for Democracy." Another is a strong disposition to see this emergency through. They are in communication with adults who are concerned with race discrimination to get their opinion as to whether this could be a test case, and how to go about getting a case and what procedures are advisable. The student is thus not only learning processes of social action, but, coming from a prejudiced background, is undergoing considerable change in her own attitude.

The subject matter of experience in some types of field placement is more applicable than others. In those instances, few in number, in which students can have placement within a council of social agencies or in other social planning bodies, it is possible for them to follow through, step by step, certain processes in social action. Where, however, the emphasis in the field practice is exclusively upon the acquisition of a high degree of case work or group work skills, the focus of the field instructor and of the student will be only incidentally upon how the agency functions in community planning. "Many supervisors, especially in case work agencies," writes one director, "have not been personally interested in the approach of social action, and are apt to overlook it in field teaching."

Attendance at staff meetings and board meetings and participation in, or observation of, certain committee practices, may give a picture of what an agency does in the area of social action. To what extent, however, does the field instruction placement customarily include such experience, and how is it viewed and analyzed by the students and the supervisors? How does it enable the student to solve such questions for himself at a later time? In few instances where reliance

on field work placement is indicated was there any statement or description of the type of experience planned for the students? Apparently, there is considerable variation in practice, depending upon the philosophy of field practice and the interest of the field instructors.

Here and there the thesis is employed to give the students some opportunity for enlarging this perspective and examining legislation or undertakings which bear upon the social action field. As one faculty member comments:

A number of students have acquired a great deal of information concerning social action by writing theses dealing with the history of the public welfare agencies, or a thesis on a topic which is specifically in the field of social legislation, or public welfare finance or welfare activities of citizens' groups. My observation is that students who write theses on such topics do so in many cases because they are especially interested in social action, that the ability and interests of many students in social action are materially increased by writing such theses, and that the later high qualifications and achievements of some of them in social action reflect to some extent the value of theses and course work in social action.

Here there seems to be a definite opportunity for amplifying and enriching the experience of the student in the school through the use of the individual research project.

Child welfare, community organization, and public welfare are bearing the brunt of the responsibility for integration of social action materials within the curriculum. Other courses which may be used include social research, medical information, history and philosophy, labor problems, and administration. Courses in social legislation include considerable emphasis upon content in the field of social action. There appears to be an opportunity for the study and discussion of specific bills, including legislative hearings and preparatory steps. Here and there arrangements are made for students to attend committee hearings or legislative sessions where bills in the field of public welfare are being discussed. Courses in social legislation, however, are not generally offered, and are elected by only a few students. At least a few school directors, however, believe that insufficient attention is now being given to the subject of social legislation and the legislative processes in the curriculum. Here and there courses in medical information include material dealing with social planning in the medical field. The history of social work, where offered, includes some emphasis upon the social reforms in the past, as a device to give the students some under-

standing of what can be done. In one school, a seminar and a course in the philosophy of social work emphasize the role of the social worker in social action. Here the need for gathering data and becoming informed before taking action and the need for coöperation with the social work group are thoroughly discussed.

Slight mention is made of the use of courses in social work interpretation. Perhaps the content of such courses has little if anything to do with methods by which interpretation of needs becomes a tool in social action. Courses in the philosophy of social work are not generally offered, and seem to represent little common agreement. Such a course may be taught as professional ethics in practice with reference to individuals or groups, or it may be taught as a course in social action.

Participation in a student organization provides an effective laboratory experience in social action. Through this device special lecturers can be brought to the school to acquaint the students with current problems. Students are encouraged to attend public hearings. In a few schools student participation in union activity was indicated. Membership in the American Association of Social Workers was suggested as a device to bring students in touch with social action in the professional field.

School faculties in a few instances are concerned because they do not feel that students are provided with sufficient opportunities. "The students," one comments, "probably don't learn to function as social workers along with other groups in the community interested in social action. It is all hearsay with them." While there is general agreement concerning the wisdom of integrating social action material into all other courses, there is also some sober questioning as to whether this integration is accomplishing the desired results. Certainly, case material for teaching in the field of social action is greatly needed, and an interchange between members of faculties of different schools is important so that methods used in teaching may be discussed and shared. There will not be unanimous agreement concerning methods, or concerning limits in the field of social action. Discussion and interchange between faculties of the various schools, however, will help to bring about a further integration of social action material with the other courses in the curriculum.

My own analysis of available materials shows that the practice courses are not carrying the load of responsibility for the integration of the philosophy of social action which some leaders in the field of professional education believe should be assumed.

The importance of a faculty that is equipped with the philosophy and understanding and experience in social action is very great. As one faculty member writes:

Every teacher should be conscious of it in all courses, and should participate in the collective attempts to develop attitudes, which is perhaps the most important aspect. Participation by teachers themselves in organizations and in social action movements, directly and indirectly, help the student in developing attitudes and gives the teacher realistic examples to use for teaching purposes. Most important is the attitude of a teacher—the student will catch the spirit.

Social action content cannot be effectively integrated with general courses in the curriculum unless the members of the faculty who are responsible for teaching these courses, especially those in the practice field, are equipped with workable backgrounds from the field of the social sciences, especially in political economy and government, labor economics, and ethnic groupings.

Where reliance is placed upon the experience in field practice within an agency to give the student understanding of how he can function as a social worker in social action efforts, such experience should be a definite part of the field practice program, worked out between the school and the supervisor in the agency, else the student may not have any such opportunity. Teaching materials are indeed badly needed, particularly case studies in social action, in legislative process, and in activities of interest groups. Most important is the recognition by the schools of the increasing significance of the field of professional social action in social work today.

A fair analysis of the role of the profession of social work in the war period will reveal two things: first, that where specific services which can be performed by civilian social workers have been identified, the demand for competent professional personnel has been without precedent; and secondly, that where questions of broad policy in the development of social services to meet the needs of a nation at war and in the postwar period have been considered, their contribution has been a limited one. The social worker's entire preparation for professional service should be oriented to this dual responsibility, and the schools should undertake to produce students "not prone to engage in ill-timed explosions inappropriately directed," to use Bertha Reynolds's phrase, but equipped with knowledge of the economic and political framework in which social work functions, a conviction to face its implications, and skill to move ahead.

WARTIME CONSUMER ACTIVITIES

By CAROLINE F. WARE

CONSUMER ACTIVITIES constitute an area on which social workers need to be informed, and one which involves, not merely case work, but community organization. During World War II the consumer has shifted from a passive to an active role in our society. War conditions demanded this change, for it became necessary, (1) to adjust civilian production to needs, not simply to the opportunities for profit, in order to release materials and manpower for war production; (2) to develop consumer consciousness in order that existing supplies might be efficiently used and essential living standards maintained; and (3) to institute price control and rationing which depend upon the understanding and support of consumers and their participation in enforcement. Moreover, it was in the interests of low-income families primarily that rationing and price controls were instituted, nutrition programs undertaken, and efforts made to keep essentials available, for without such measures these families would not have access to scarce supplies. These wartime measures, moreover, have depended upon the organization of the community for their success. Each community has been called upon to man price and ration boards, to provide price panel assistants, home canning demonstrators, and volunteers for countless other tasks, and to use its organizations for the dissemination of information and the development of informed and responsible consumers.

It should be clear that the term "consumer" implies a viewpoint rather than a person. As a person, everybody is a consumer. The consumer viewpoint is the viewpoint of the buyer and user, not of the producer or seller. As such, it is a clearly defined interest which can be quantitatively expressed in terms of the largest numbers of consumers, i.e., the masses of people. Whether or not a person thinks of himself as a consumer and approaches economic problems from the consumer viewpoint is largely a matter of his alternative interests. If he is a businessman—a producer or a seller—his interest is focused in that role and, to all intents and purposes,

he is not a "consumer." Workers are organized in their capacities as producers; but as workers have come to realize that the pay envelope is worth no more than it will buy, labor has become concerned with its problems as consumers, and unions are often spokesmen for the consumer viewpoint. The groups who think of themselves as consumers first and foremost, and who have long constituted the nucleus of consumer consciousness in the United States, are white-collar, salaried, and professional people and low-income families.

The basic significance of the new recognition of the consumer viewpoint lies in the fact that traditionally it has been assumed that if the interests of producers were served, the net result would be to serve the interests of all groups and individuals in the community. Activities focused on the consumer interest mark a fundamental departure from habitual attitudes. The best way to give a picture of consumer activities is to review those with which consumer groups were concerned in 1943. There is, in Washington, an organization known as the Consumer Clearing House, composed of representatives of some twenty national organizations who exchange information on current developments and discuss possible lines of action. In its monthly meetings this group has concerned itself with the following problems:

Food production: Farm Security Administration; agricultural labor; the effect of derationing on Victory gardens and home canning

Food distribution: Rationing and derationing; the need for a systematic food distribution program; factory canteens and in-plant feeding; school lunch programs

Price control: Renewal of the Price Control Act; subsidies; food prices; community dollars-and-cents ceilings; price roll-backs; price ceilings for department store items; vitamin prices; crude oil prices; price panel program

Civilian supplies: Bill for proposed Office of Civilian Supply; clothing shortages; discussion as to whether clothing rationing is needed

Quality control: Grade labeling; Boren Committee investigation of brand names and newsprint; Patman and Smith Committees' investigations; OPA hosiery order and attacks on it; quality deterioration in clothing

Consumer protection through food and drug control: Dry skim milk—issue of action by Congress to change name from standard set by Food and Drug Administration, making it possible to mislead consumers; treatment of processed cheese—issue of breakdown of Food and Drug Administration bulwark against adulteration by permitting introduction of a "harmless" preservative

Taxation: Sales tax; special taxes on oleomargarine.

Housing

Greater consumer participation in membership of price and ration boards; need for consumer representation in Department of Agriculture; need for consumer participation in postwar planning agencies; Congressional Committee for Consumer Protection

Reconversion: Consumers' stake in reconversion from war to peacetime production.

Stockpiles for relief: Consumer responsibility for building up reserves to feed Europe.

Obviously, this is only a partial list of the consumer issues upon which groups in many communities have been active. There is nothing here about the black market and efforts on the part of consumers to stamp it out; scant mention of the extensive use of volunteers as price panel assistants to keep ceiling prices at the retail level; nothing on the marketing problems of war workers, on Victory gardens, salvage, conservation, care and repair, swap shops; nothing on rent control and related problems.

The major consumer activities of all groups have centered around price control. The war economy, with its system of price regulation, has placed consumers in a new position. Instead of being merely bargainers, seeking to affect prices by the use of their purchasing power, they have become both the beneficiaries of, and the instruments for, carrying out a national policy of price stabilization. In addition, consumers have borne much of the burden of maintaining an effective price control law and program in spite of pressure from special interests who favored price control in principle but wanted, themselves, to be free from its limitations and able to take advantage of the sellers' market which war conditions inevitably brought.

According to Chester Bowles, Price Administrator, the Office of Price Administration receives literally thousands of requests and demands each week to raise prices—requests from producers and sellers, and even from Congressmen. Virtually never does the OPA hear from anyone who charges that prices are too high, or that a tough enough price control job has not been done. Only the rare voice of a spokesman for the consumer interest is raised, in counter pressure to the many voices demanding special concessions or relaxation of controls.

It is significant, however, that some Congressmen have recognized that the public wants strong price control and are building their campaigns for re-election on their record in support of the Price Control Act.

A more detailed examination of the problems relating to food will illustrate the range of, and the reasons for the interest of, consumer groups. Concern for food production reflects the realization that this is not solely a matter for producers. Consumers are the people who ultimately use the food which is produced. If there is not a sufficient production of the food which is needed, both for ourselves and for our allies, our whole national policy will suffer, for the clamor against sending needed food abroad will be loud and almost irresistible. The position of America at the peace table, and our reputation as a nation which keeps faith with its allies, is dependent on adequate food production, as is also the welfare of consumers at home.

In respect to food distribution, consumer groups have been concerned with rationing, with the need for its extension when it lagged, with the disastrous results which are threatened by the de-rationing of meats and processed foods, which represents a policy of clearing shelves rather than preparing for future needs. They have seen the danger of hoarding, the potential decline of Victory gardens and of home canning, and the likelihood that low-income consumers will be forgotten when the supplies now on hand have been moved off the shelves and the expected drop in canned goods and meats available for civilians occurs.

They have been concerned, too, with the need for special efforts to distribute food through other than the regular channels, in order to insure that war workers in shipyards and factories are sustained by nourishing meals and that the basic nutritional needs of children are met. The establishment of factory canteens similar to those in Great Britain, where they are required in all shops employing more than 250 workers, presents many problems, including the need for additional food supplies in isolated or congested industrial areas and priorities for equipment in order that hot meals may be prepared and served at the plants.

In some places, community groups have worked to bring about a successful feeding program at the local plant. Such programs will continue to be needed after the war. This is a good illustration of a situation where necessary measures for the welfare of consumers in wartime may lead to a pattern of social organization and practice which will raise the peacetime level of individual welfare in the community.

Consumer groups, too, have worked for the maintenance and extension of the serving of school lunches and have endeavored to put the program on a permanent basis. The program was originally

an incidental part of the effort to dispose of agricultural surpluses, products whose price was below what public policy had assumed to be a "fair" price, i.e., parity. In order to help move these products, and to keep the supply from depressing prices in the regular markets, Congress provided that the Department of Agriculture (now the War Food Administration) could use a certain part of the annual customs receipts to buy these products and distribute them through methods other than the regular channels of trade. One of the methods was to supply products to relief agencies and to schools.

At first, only a few schools received "surplus" foods, and they were not such as to make a balanced meal—apples one day, grapefruit another, cabbages another, whatever was plentiful at a particular time. The lunches were available only to needy children. Then schools and communities, parent-teacher associations, and the Department of Agriculture itself realized that school lunches had a value beyond merely disposing of certain foods. Children studied better if they were properly fed. One of the surest ways to assure the basic minimum for the growth of a healthy population was through well-balanced meals in the schools. This applied in principle, not only to needy children, but to other children, who spent their nickels for candy bars and pop. Gradually the program shifted, until it is now widespread, though far from universal. Responsibility for school lunch programs is borne either by the schools or by some other responsible agency.

No longer are the lunches supplied from whatever may happen to be plentiful at a particular moment. Foods for well-balanced meals are bought locally. The funds, originally available for disposal of surpluses, are now used to reimburse the local agency for meals which meet standards of nutrition. Equipment, supervision, and often additional food are provided by the local agency. Still, there has been no special legislation to authorize a permanent school lunch program with Federal aid, although such legislation is under consideration.

Consumer groups have, of course, been deeply concerned with the whole question of food prices, including roll backs, subsidies, dollars-and-cents community ceilings, and the use of grade labels in order that price may be seen in relation to quality. These issues have involved consumer activity of every type, at every level of government, and with every degree of information, organization, and action. National legislation has been at issue in the renewal of the Price Control Act, and in regard to subsidies, proposals to

place Federal aid to school lunch programs on a permanent basis, and also in respect to proposals for sales taxes and for repeal of the Federal tax on oleomargarine.

Decisions of Federal administrative agencies have been involved in questions of rationing and derationing; in the failure to take necessary steps to keep essential low-cost clothing on the market and to prevent diversion of manpower and materials to high-cost or nonessential items; in the failure to take steps to prevent quality deterioration or to establish serviceable war models for essential garments as the British have done, and in the adoption of a "bare shelf" policy for canned goods in place of stockpiling for the relief of liberated areas and for reserves for domestic consumption.

Community organization and local initiative are basic to the development of factory lunch rooms, housing, price panel programs, and assuring that local war price and rationing boards are representative of the community.

Some issues, such as reconversion and the question of whether or not there is need for clothing rationing, have required investigation and analysis as a basis for consumer attitudes. Others have required the spread of information rather than fresh investigation, as, for example, the use of dollars-and-cents community price ceilings, or public understanding of the much-discussed topic of grade labeling. Efforts to secure participation by consumers in policy-making and administrative bodies involve the willingness of some consumers to acquire the necessary knowledge and to expend the time and effort in the difficult task of making the consumer interest articulate and effective.

Every one of these consumer activities has been a response to a wartime need and has represented a direct contribution to the conduct of the war. Some of these issues, such as grade labeling and the maintenance of the integrity of the Food and Drug Administration, antedate the war. Virtually all have implications for the postwar society toward which we are tending.

The net effect is to bring a new emphasis and a new attitude into our approach to economic issues. We are building a body of experience based on the buyer and the user rather than on the seller's approach. The experience may be wasted. After the war the consumer may become a passive factor again. The business approach may reassert the predominance which it has never lost, or even extensively shared. There is great danger that in the effort to meet the postwar threat of unemployment, every sort of gadget will be pressed on consumers, in disregard of need and utility, on the

ground of providing employment. It will be easy to slip into the old pattern of thinking "Will it sell?" rather than "Will it serve?" Whether or not this happens depends largely on the steps taken to consolidate the experience of these years and to build it into the structure of institutions and attitudes of the community.

From the point of view of community organization, these war-time programs, especially the price-control and rationing programs, have drawn in the various groups in the community more completely than have any in the past. Price control and rationing touch everybody. In order that the programs may be successful, they must be understood and pervasive as the organization and activity of the local war price and ration boards, and their several panels and assistants. Though the OPA prescription for board membership has not always been followed, this prescription constitutes a standard toward which actual practice tends. The standard is one of genuine representation: no board is to be drawn from a single economic or social level, or from a single political or religious group, or from one sex, and, where the composition of the community makes it appropriate, boards are to contain representatives of labor, of agriculture, and of racial groups.

The effect of these programs has been to broaden the basis for community participation. Community organization leaders should be able to take advantage of this development to build more broadly based programs in other fields, or in fields such as housing which have only begun to be approached from the consumer viewpoint, but which are of growing importance for the postwar period. Moreover, so long as the consumer viewpoint is kept as a center of focus, community organization is driven to be comprehensive and inclusive, for organization in terms of the interest of the consumers must, by definition, be truly representative of the people themselves.

Specifically, there are many direct consumer problems which may properly constitute the basis for community projects, and a field for community organization. For example, there is need in each locality for a consumer council to serve as a clearing house of information on consumer problems, comparable to the Consumer Clearing House which functions nationally. Such a clearing house is needed, both to exchange information and to plan action.

Consumer problems may constitute a more or less important aspect of the program of a wide variety of community organizations. Some problems, such as extension of the Price Control Act and the action of Congress to change the name of dry skim milk, are

national in scope. But there are many problems that are appropriately a part of the program of local organizations.

The importance of particular problems will vary from community to community. In larger communities, housing is certainly one of the most important, with the greatest need for sound community organization based on the consumer interest. In many communities, there will be a significant job to be done in regard to local markets, to the inspection of weights and measures, the enforcement of sanitary codes, the sponsorship of school lunches, and many other matters. It is safe to predict that the approach which the war has required, the new focus on consumer needs, the expression of the consumer interest, and the assumption of consumer responsibility will have a direct and stimulating influence on the future organization of community life.

A NATIONAL HEALTH PROGRAM

By *MICHAEL M. DAVIS*

AS I LOOK BACK over what has happened in medical economics during the last dozen years I feel considerable satisfaction. In 1932 the costs of medical care were the concern of a handful of especially interested persons. In 1944 health insurance is the concern of millions, and the question asked by both progressives and conservatives is not "Do we need it?" but "How shall we extend it?"

In 1932 when the Committee on the Costs of Medical Care issued its report, its recommendations for voluntary health insurance and group medical practice were damned by the American Medical Association as "socialism and communism, inciting to revolution." During the next few years the A.M.A. fought the movement for hospitalization insurance. The A.M.A. fought and still continues to fight coöperative and other health insurance plans with group medical practice. In the National Health Conference of 1938 the A.M.A. fought against the statement that a large part of our people do not obtain adequate medical care. Their legal fight against medical coöperatives was carried to the Supreme Court, and they lost it. The Blue Cross hospitalization insurance plans now have 14,000,000 members and have won an assured position. Ten years ago only a handful of people were aware of rural medical needs, and still fewer talked about them. Today the leaders of the largest farm organizations recognize that something must be done to relieve the long-standing shortage of doctors and hospitals in many rural areas and to enable the average farm family to pay for needed medical care. Less than ten years ago organized labor opposed compulsory health insurance. In 1943 organized labor drafted and sponsored the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill, proposing national health insurance on a comprehensive scale as part of a many-sided system of social security.

The A.M.A. and its satellites have fought a delaying action. They have won battles but they have continually lost ground. In

1932 they faced a committee of experts. In 1938 they faced a government-called conference. In 1944 they face the American people.

Within the last few years important changes have taken place within organized medicine. At least fifteen state medical societies have approved of voluntary health insurance plans with the understanding that they shall be under medical society control, and some eighteen such plans, state-wide or local, have been started in fourteen states. The national organization of the A.M.A. has not gone so far as these state societies and has been criticized by a number of them for its backwardness. On the other hand, the large majority of the forty-eight state medical associations have not yet taken any affirmative action in favor of starting health insurance plans. Knowing this, we can understand why the national officers of the A.M.A. have to stay near the middle of their self-made road. In Ohio the state society sponsored and pushed through the legislature an "enabling act" for such plans, which has been on the statute books for three years and which has enabled the most conservative elements in the Ohio medical profession to prevent the more liberal members from starting anything.

It is apparent, however, that a good many physicians now recognize that health insurance is desired by a large part of the American people, and these physicians are willing to accept health insurance if they can have it on their own terms. Actually, what they have succeeded in doing, even where they have been most successful, as in Michigan, is to offer a plan for surgery and obstetrics in hospitalized cases only, at a rather high price. There has been friction within the societies themselves. Except in Michigan, they have obtained only a small number of subscribers for their plans, and in Michigan, they are running into a tilt with the United Automobile Workers, whose members and their families constitute a large majority of their subscribers.

Yet, even within organized medicine, there is progress compared with the situation ten years ago. It is important that in a number of states and cities the organized medical profession is beginning to acquire experience with health insurance, however limited and ineffective their particular projects may be at present. Another important medical event is the organization of a movement of liberal physicians—physicians, who, while remaining members of their county medical societies, and therefore of the A.M.A., disagree with certain of its policies and publicly say so. The Physicians Forum, an organization started by New York physicians but now

becoming national, is officially on record in favor of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. It has issued a pamphlet endorsing its principles, suggesting improvements, and explaining how the bill would be helpful to physicians.

The Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care is older than the Forum, an academic group. It issues statements from time to time, but is not concerned with pushing practical action.

These committees of liberal physicians are small in number. There are probably thousands of physicians who share their views but whose private practices or hospital appointments would be risked if they expressed themselves openly. The official medical journals give little or no space to dissenting opinion, even from within the profession. Minority expression is frowned upon, and minority organization is "naughty." If you are a physician, you have to have a lot of courage or be in a very independent position financially if you support the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. Labor and lay organizations should give all the moral and practical support that they can to liberal physicians in their own communities, and to organizations like the Physicians Forum which are an invaluable progressive ferment within the crystallized political body of organized medicine.

Just ten years ago, the A.M.A. adopted ten principles with which health insurance plans are supposed to conform. Experience thus far has indicated that plans which comply with these principles are condemned to ineffectiveness. Partly in tacit recognition of this fact, and partly with the aim of combating the rising tide of popular demand for health insurance, the National Physicians Committee for the Extension of Medical Services was organized four years ago. Do not confuse this Committee with the liberal Committee of Physicians for the Improvement of Medical Care.

The National Physicians Committee is separate from the A.M.A., but it is officially approved by it. The Committee's governing board is made up of physicians who occupy, or have occupied, important positions in the A.M.A. Its funds come partly from physicians and partly from the drug business. It spent in 1943 about \$200,000 to fight the Wagner bill. In April, 1944, it issued an appeal for \$500,000 a year for three years to put over voluntary health insurance plans run either by commercial insurance companies or by large industries in coöperation with medical societies. Insurance company plans do not offer medical services, only cash indemnities toward the cost of hospital care and surgical operations. The Com-

mittee boosts the idea that if the costs of such expensive illnesses are covered, the needs of the American people will be satisfied.

What is the matter with the plans of the medical societies and of the National Physicians Committee? In the first place, they do not offer comprehensive medical care. They provide for no prevention or control of disease. They are not really plans of medical service. They are mostly plans for financing hospitalization and surgery. In the second place, they are under the control of medical societies or of commercial concerns who will be spending other people's money. In the third place, the medical societies insist upon an income limit. You cannot join unless your family income is less than a certain figure—usually \$2,000 to \$2,500 a year and never more than \$3,000. In the fourth place, the medical societies' plans, such as those now in operation in Michigan and on the Pacific coast, and those that are struggling to operate in some Eastern states, insist that medical care must be furnished under an open-panel system in which the doctors are paid from the insurance fund according to a fee schedule for each service rendered. This method of payment is incompatible with furnishing comprehensive medical care. It is costly to administer because of the elaborate records which must be kept and because vexatious supervision is required to prevent abuse by both patients and doctors. No health insurance plan will operate successfully and economically for a large number of people if it must follow the requirements laid down by the medical societies, unless the plan limits its scope of service at a level far below the people's needs.

Let us always draw a sharp distinction between medical societies and doctors, that is, between doctors in their organized capacity, run mostly by big city specialists and their hired salesmen, and doctors as sick people know them in their capacity as healers and helpers. Surveys of opinion have shown that the mass of the American people have a high regard for their physicians and a profound respect for the scientific achievements of the medical and allied professions. This is as it should be. This feeling, indeed, is the basis for another equally clear report of the opinion surveys: that the people want more medical care, and are willing to pay for it. But they want to pay for it in ways that will not be financially disastrous. Mayor La Guardia considers health insurance to be so widely demanded by the people of his Baghdad that he proposes a plan for all families whose income is less than \$5,000, although he thus risks a clash with the local medical societies which have insisted on a ceiling of \$2,500. A recent survey in California, made

for the state medical society, reveals that no less than 50 percent of the California people would choose what the survey called "Federal medicine," and only 34 percent, "the present system of private practice."

I interpret this and other findings to mean that a great many Americans want something in the way of medical care that they are not getting now, and that they will use their votes, if necessary, in order to get it. And this should be accomplished without any lessening whatever in the social standing and the professional and financial opportunities of the physicians of America.

By training and experience, physicians are individualists. They dislike the restraints and distrust the opportunities of organization. Over sick people they are accustomed to assume authority, responsible to their own consciences, and they are irked by any other authority, especially that of government. They are accustomed to medical care as a private enterprise, but they also recognize it to be an essential public service. They are slowly adjusting themselves to a combination of these two principles. They have a right to expect consideration from the public. We may be confident that they will adapt medical service to public demand, and the experience of the last few years has shown that public pressure expedites the adaptive process.

The most important recent event in this field was the introduction of the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. This bill is a comprehensive measure of social security. It extends and improves old age and survivors insurance, unemployment insurance, and Federal aid for public assistance. It adds disability insurance, a new protection against loss of wages due to sickness. And it adds medical care. The bill would offer comprehensive physicians' services and hospital care to most of the population. These services would be supported by contributory insurance from employed persons and their employers and from self-employed people. Needy persons for whose medical care state and local governments are now responsible could be brought into the health insurance system if the state or local authorities paid the costs for these people. The bill assures the freedom of people to choose their physicians and other medical resources and the right of physicians to accept or reject patients and to stay out of the system if they wish to do so.

The National Physicians Committee circulated in 1943 millions of pamphlets attacking and misrepresenting this bill. According to its misstatements, a Federal bureaucrat would assign doctors to people, and people to doctors. The Surgeon-General of the United

States Public Health Service would be the Autocrat of American Medicine with \$3,000,000,000 a year to spend. Every year we should get \$3,000,000,000 worth of political medicine. Some of these pamphlets were sent out directly by the Committee. A much larger number were given out all over the country by drugstores. Still more millions have been put in physicians' waiting rooms for patients to take, or have been sent out by doctors with their bills. Many medical societies have printed leaflets which quoted parts of the pamphlet, with variations. The Committee sends out weekly news releases and editorials to some twelve thousand newspapers and periodicals. Most members of Congress have been talked to by their personal physicians, according to the well-organized technique which medical societies have worked out in years past to deal with legislation.

Thus the National Physicians Committee and its commercial affiliates in the drug and insurance business have fought the Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill to a standstill in Congress. The bill has lain dormant in the committees of the House and Senate, has had no hearings, and is dead for this session. But outside of Congress it is very much alive. It stalks into every medical society meeting. It winds its invisible but virile way between the lines of editorials in every medical journal. The campaign against it has convinced millions of Americans that socialized medicine is terrible. It has also informed them that there is such a thing as health insurance.

The medical attack on the bill is now taking another form. The bill makes medical care and hospitalization a part of a general system of social security with a single collection of funds, instead of a series of vexatious pay-roll reductions. Now it is proposed from medical sources that a public commission be set up by joint resolution of Congress. Pursuant to such a resolution, the President would appoint a commission of laymen and physicians to study the problem of medical care and report a plan for the American people. This scheme has three purposes: First, it is a measure of delay. Secondly, by separating medical care from the rest of social security, the fight would be easier against either. Thirdly, it is a move toward A.M.A. control over national health insurance when that comes. It represents the old American idea: If you can't lick 'em, join 'em. If you can't stop the bandwagon, get into the driver's seat. The establishment of such a commission at this time should be opposed. A campaign of education is needed now among the people and in the medical profession. Every point of view is entitled to be heard. Everyone is entitled to do what he can, or what his union or his

medical society can, to bring his fellow Americans around to his own way of thinking. We should have widespread open discussion of medical needs and how to meet them. If the commission were actually appointed and if it included representatives of the chief elements among the American people and within the medical profession, a divided report would be certain, and the cleavage would be on basic issues which would have to be settled in the political arena. What we need now is to bring all the facts and issues into the open, before the average layman and the average doctor. We shall not gain by having another private debating society write majority and minority reports.

The situation in Canada has some lessons for us. A health insurance bill was published in January, 1943. The Canadian Medical Association approved the bill in principle. It is now being fine-toothed-combed by a committee of the House of Commons. This bill was originally drafted by a committee of government officials. It seems likely that the bill will be enacted, though because of the war action may be postponed. Such action in Canada is bound to have a stimulating effect in this country, as will the proposal of a National Health Service in Britain, recently made by the Churchill Government. The process of preparing a health insurance bill in Canada must differ from ours because the situation of the two countries is different in a fundamental respect. In Canada, organized labor, agriculture, business, and the medical profession and the hospitals all either want compulsory health insurance or accept it. In the United States there is a basic cleavage. Some important groups want it. Other important groups violently oppose it. Under these circumstances, no representative group or commission can discuss any particular plan or bill for health insurance on its merits. Until we move through public discussion closer to common objectives, basic issues will be dealt with as a contest of powers, not as an area for planning.

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill has received first attention from its enemies. Now it needs improvement by its friends. The bill should be amended in various respects. It should insure decentralized administration and local responsibility under national standards. It should provide that policy on both national and local levels shall be determined by representative groups in which there is participation of the people who receive aid and the professions and agencies that furnish the service. The law should provide aid for the construction and improvement of hospital facilities, particularly in rural areas. It should define voluntary as well as govern-

mental action. It should define more clearly than does the present bill the function of hospitals as medical service centers.

A national health program as I see it should rest upon nine principles:

1. Medical service should be comprehensive. The powers of medicine to prevent, to control, and to cure disease should be made available to all the people. A program which is limited to hospitalized cases or to particularly expensive illnesses does not meet the needs of the people and does not measure up to the traditions and standards of the medical profession. Moreover, it is not economical to insure against the costs of expensive illnesses without providing also for preventive measures and for diagnosis and treatment of illness in its early stages. Such measures would reduce disease and promote working efficiency. From the standpoint of the medical profession, a program limited to "catastrophic illness" or to hospitalized patients helps to pay the specialists but does not aid the general practitioner who is the center of medical service.

2. A national health program should be financed by spreading costs over the population through contributory insurance supplemented by taxation. The funds needed are, for the most part, already available. The large majority of American families are now spending about 3 percent of their incomes for physicians' services and hospitalization. This amount is supplemented by considerable sums from general taxation from local, state, and Federal governments, amounting in prewar years to about \$600,000,000 annually. If present expenditures for medical care were organized and regularized, they would be enough to provide care for all with only minor supplementation.

3. A national health program should provide for better geographical distribution of needed medical facilities. It must aid in constructing and improving hospitals and laboratories which are necessary to competent medical service and with which many parts of our country are insufficiently supplied. Better distribution of hospital facilities is essential if physicians are to be attracted and retained in the rural areas of the country and if rural physicians are to be able to practice modern medicine.

4. A national health program should encourage group medical practice with hospitals as professional service centers. The present evolution of American hospitals in this direction should be protected and assisted.

5. The administration of a national health program should rest

upon the principles that policies should be determined through the participation of those who receive and of those who furnish services, and that physicians should be responsible for strictly medical activities.

6. A national health program should incorporate and insure the basic freedoms of the people and of the professions. Patients must have the right to choose physicians, hospitals, and other medical resources, their right of choice including the right of group choice when the individual so desires. Physicians must be free to come into or to stay out of the health program and to choose the type of practice, individual, or group which they desire.

7. The program must assure adequate payment of physicians, hospitals, and other agents of service according to methods which promote both quality and economy.

8. The program should be a national system. A national system is necessary to assure equalization of medical service opportunities for the people and the profession throughout all sections of the country. Economy would be promoted by a national collection of funds unified with the collection of funds for other branches of social security.

9. The program must rest upon the local administration of services under national standards. In each locality the public, the physicians, and the hospitals must assume certain responsibilities for the distribution of medical care under general standards which give room for voluntary as well as for governmental action, and for adaptation to local needs and conditions.

Now we should get together. By "we" I mean organized labor, some farm organizations, liberal physicians, social workers, and other Americans who agree on the desirability of a broad national program of social security in general and of health services in particular. These people must agree on what they want. They must remember that nobody can get all he wants. There will be endless differences over the sources of funds, the methods of administration, the respective places of Federal, state, regional, and local agencies, the functions of voluntary agencies, the methods of paying doctors and hospitals, and so on and so on. We may fight over these differences. We must remember, however, that nobody will enjoy that fight as much as our opponents who do not want national health insurance or any extensions of social security. Let us, therefore, exercise our muscles of diplomacy among our friends and keep our muscles of offense ready for the other fellows. At this moment we are at the

crisis of a world struggle. It is a time to emphasize unity rather than differences among Americans. Yet it is also a time when we must plan for the future, in this case for the immediate future, with vigor and courage. And we must put those plans into action.

THE EFFECT OF WORLD WAR II ON COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION FOR HEALTH AND WELFARE

By *LYMAN S. FORD*

FROM THE STANDPOINT of community organization, we seem to be in the second of three broad phases of our activity in connection with the war emergency. Behind us is the mobilization and conversion period. We have been a party to a tremendous shifting of services in accordance with rapidly changing needs. Even the function of community organization itself has come in for its share of adjustment. Ahead of us is the inevitable period of demobilization and reconversion. Right now we seem to be carrying a dual responsibility. As an important factor in the war effort we must continue to do everything within our power to see that health and welfare programs are adequately supported, efficiently operated, and geared to wartime needs. At the same time we have an undeniable obligation to look ahead, to plan for the future, to do our bit toward making the effect of this war on health and welfare as positive and as orderly as is humanly possible.

The pressure of war forces the development of new techniques and new procedures. This is just as true of community organization and other phases of social work as it is of industry and government. The process of evolution has a tendency to be speeded up by war conditions. Where sound community planning has been able to head the evolutionary process in the right direction the whole war experience may result in some real benefits. The only tenable position which we can take is to vow that there shall be some return for the tremendous price which is being paid. Certainly the vital importance of good community organization is being vividly demonstrated. Our challenge is to find the means whereby communities may profit by the lessons, by the stimulation, by the added interest, and by the new demand for joint action on community affairs which is coming from many quarters.

Even though it is somewhat audacious, then, it may still be worth

while at least to attempt to see what the effect on our field of interest has been so far. In what has happened we may find much to suggest the direction of future trends.

My discussion will be limited principally to the problem in local communities and principally from the standpoint of community-wide organized activities, although the process of community organization is by no means confined to what transpires in councils of social agencies, community and war chests, defense councils, social service exchanges, volunteer bureaus, and neighborhood councils.

There is today more community organization than before the war, and there is more interest in it. Of course the two go along together, and which is cause and which is effect is not always clear. The war itself has given rise to many new problems which could only be solved by joint local effort, so the machinery of community organization has been expanded to meet the situation. In addition to this, the war has created a state of mind where "change" is in the air. Under the pressure of war, tradition, custom, and apathy have tended to melt away in many quarters. Moreover, the quite obvious need for new and expanded services in many communities, combined with somewhat less stringent financial limitations, has created greater activity in planning new projects.

In addition to expanding as a process and a state of mind, community organization has expanded as a movement. Civilian defense has brought some type of joint activity into every nook and corner of the country. Within the conception of civilian defense is health and welfare planning. It is true that in a large proportion of the defense councils no interest in social work problems has been expressed. But it is also true that under these auspices, in hundreds of places, citizens and agencies for the first time have approached some of these questions as matters of community-wide concern.

There are three general types of community situations in regard to civilian defense health and welfare planning activity. First, there are the cities where there has never been any organized community-wide effort to bring about a better adjustment between social welfare needs and the existing or potential resources to meet those needs. In many of these places wartime activity in this field will undoubtedly carry over in some form, to the distinct benefit of the area.

Community organization is one of the easiest things to talk about and one of the hardest things to do something about. It is a subtle concept. Therefore, secondly, the war found us with many com-

munities where little more than lip service had been given to the idea as it applied to health and welfare. In some of these places there may have been joint financing projects, social service exchanges, or other common services. There may have been a social workers' club or even a council of social agencies on paper. But there had never been enough energy to carry on anything worthy of the term "community planning". I am confident that the total impact of the war has in many instances provided formal community organization with what it needs to become an effective and continuing movement.

The third type of community is one in which health and welfare planning had been quite well developed prior to the war. Civilian defense has often affected this situation in two ways. First, it has increased the tempo of a trend which was already evident—a trend toward a broader base of citizen participation in the planning process. Secondly, it has furnished official emergency auspices for certain planning activities, thus helping to establish them as a definite part of the war effort, and therefore has increased their effectiveness. Many of these cities will come out of the war with stronger planning bodies in the health and welfare field.

Civilian defense has brought thousands of new people into contact with community endeavors. Some of their experiences have been bad and some good. Some participants leave the activity embittered, while others are enthusiastic. The net effect, however, cannot help but be good: more people conscious of their community; more people interested, regardless of what they are "for" and what they are "against"; more people who may be called upon in the future.

Civilian defense, an official operation sponsored by local, state, and Federal governments, has done something else which may have implications for community organization. It has for the first time involved local government as such in the planning process for health and welfare problems. This involvement has had its liabilities as well as its assets. It has sometimes helped and sometimes hindered good community organization. It is still far from clear what the long-run effect will be on local social welfare planning. It is my personal opinion that we are a long, long way from the time when the community organization function will be accepted commonly as a function of local government. However, we would all hope that city government, entirely aside from, and in addition to, its health, welfare, and recreation departments, which are already active in our

good planning councils, will show an increasing interest in establishing and maintaining adequate health and welfare services.

There is some evidence that official city-planning commissions more and more will consider health and welfare problems as worthy of their attention. Such commissions should be centers to which our specialized planning bodies can bring their ideas for consideration along with other related community problems outside the field of health and welfare. This should make so-called city planning more complete and make health and welfare planning more vital and effective.

The common function of centralized recruiting, training, and placing volunteer workers has been picked up bodily by civilian defense and expanded, from eighty-six more or less experimental local bureaus, to several thousand Civilian Defense Volunteer Offices. Here again there has been much waste, and some harm has been done, but the net effect will certainly be (1) to leave us after the war with several hundred well-organized central volunteer services; (2) to leave us with a tremendous amount of information and experience in the "rights" and "wrongs" of operating such services; and (3) to leave us with a new consciousness of the possibilities of volunteer service in health and welfare, both on the part of the agencies and of the volunteers.

Joint financing, the traditional bellwether of broader community health and welfare planning, is the companion force with civilian defense which is having a tremendous impact on local community organization. Thousands of new workers have been involved in financial campaigns. Thousands of new contributors have made donations. Under the stimulus of nation-wide appeals the National War Fund—a community chest on a national basis—was organized. This alone has brought a form of federated financing into every county in the United States. Many areas in which there has never been any joint financing have taken the opportunity to combine drives for certain local purposes with the appeal for the National War Fund.

There is little question but what the number of community chests that continue after the war will be at least double the six hundred that were in existence prior to Pearl Harbor. It is a logical and relatively easy step from federated financing to other aspects of community welfare planning. Money raising involves budgeting. Budgeting involves decisions as to program which soon reveal themselves as being without any sound basis unless some method is de-

vised for looking at the individual agency budget in relation to the whole community picture.

The new people who have been drawn into community organization affairs through war chests will have their effect on the movement. Organized labor is an example. Union members come in with their eyes focused on the problems and the services. They neither know nor care particularly about traditions or personalities or other obstacles to progress with which we may have been struggling for years. They want to move fast. There is danger here, but there are also strength and backing.

The most recent development which undoubtedly will have some effect on the amount of interest and participation in health and welfare planning is the activity in connection with postwar planning. The term "postwar planning" can mean almost anything, or almost nothing. There has been a great deal of loose talk and loose thinking about the subject. However, many communities are establishing devices for consideration of the tremendous social and economic problems which will face them after the war, and in some places, at least, it is recognized that problems of providing health and welfare services need to have equal consideration along with problems of employment, industrial conversion, housing, land use, etc.

Out of this development we may find in many urban communities committees which will attempt to look at all aspects of community life and act as a clearance body for the more specific planning which will go on in such organizations as chambers of commerce, manufacturers' associations, city-planning commissions, and councils of social agencies. In smaller cities and rural areas—particularly in communities with a population of less than twenty-five thousand—the future is less certain. They have been stirred by the same influences as have the larger places, but patterns for future auspices, scope, structure, and procedures for continuing health and welfare planning have yet to be developed. Community councils, broad in constituency and broad in scope, which will handle health and welfare matters along with all others, may be the answer, but obstacles, such as a means of providing community organization staff services, will have to be overcome.

Whatever changes in planning structure come out of the war experience, one thing is assured. Health and welfare planning will be more a "citizens'" movement and less a mere federation of operating agencies. And this is a good thing. It is not a matter of lessening one iota the amount of participation in the process by

agencies and their boards and staffs. Nor does it mean that planning councils will or should abandon the practice of having agency memberships. It is merely a question of adding more of an important type of participation. It means that we have had an opportunity to go back of agencies and departments of government—back to the citizens who by their acts established these services, back to the citizens who support all this activity, back to the persons who collectively are also the consumers of our entire product. An increase in this type of citizen participation in social welfare planning has long been recognized as a great need. For a dozen years the trend has been in this direction. Again the war has speeded up a process already in motion, and again I am convinced that the movement stands to gain materially from the experience.

The importance of broader and greater citizen participation in the planning process is aptly illustrated by a recent study in Syracuse, New York. In 1942 it was discovered that over 70 percent of all the families in Onondaga County, where Syracuse is located, had received one or more direct health, welfare, or group work services, and the average was two services per family.

All this indicates that we have come a long way from the time when welfare service was a matter of a few people at the top doing something for a few people down at the bottom. It is true that "because everybody benefits, nearly everybody gives." Both the broader support and the broader distribution of health and welfare services points the way toward more "representative citizen" responsibility in community organization activities.

Another development in community organization is the matter of planning and coördination on levels other than that of the official community area. There has been considerable increase in neighborhood and block activity. More significant, however, is the emergence of planning activity in areas larger than the official community. Civilian defense operations revealed the absurdity of planning separately for different parts of the same natural geographical area. The almost universal inclusion of war appeals in local chest campaigns has materially speeded up the trend toward metropolitan area financing plans. Joint planning has a tendency to follow joint financing in this as in certain other matters.

Above the metropolitan area we find that such new agencies as state war or defense councils and state war chests have been added in the field of state-wide community organization, in which state welfare conferences, state charities associations, and public welfare and health departments have been interested for some time. There

are many signs that permanent state-wide health and welfare planning machinery may emerge in many states as a direct result of the war.

Emergency conditions usually mean greater centralization of activity and planning at the top. Local and state matters take on national importance and thereby demand some degree of national attention and handling. No one questions the need for some kind of inclusive national planning and coördination in the area of health and welfare. Results of past efforts have not been impressive, and it is a great tragedy that we have been without this type of service during these important times. However, the war has brought some new organization trends which are sure to leave their mark on this problem. I do not think that anyone at the moment can accurately foretell just what the ultimate effect will be of such organizations as the United Service Organizations, the National War Fund, the American War-Community Services, the Civilian War Services Division of the Office of Civilian Defense, the Associated Youth Serving Organizations, and the Community War Services Division of the Federal Security Agency. There can be little doubt, however, but what each of these movements will have some bearing upon eventual developments.

Local community-wide planning and coördination stand to benefit from well-conceived and well-operated planning projects on other levels. Two points, however, are important. First, the channels from the operations on one level to the other should be open and direct. Planning on any level is handicapped unless there is a good relationship with similar activities on other levels. One tends to complement the other. Secondly, great care must be taken to avoid planning on one level for matters which should be worked out at another level. As a general rule it is advisable always to plan and coördinate on the lowest possible level, going on up only when it is obviously necessary. Emergencies often justify the provision of certain services from the top down. The idea of community organization, however, cannot be provided; it can only be planted. It has to grow, and any services that are provided rest on a terribly weak foundation if local community responsibility is not developed at the same time.

The function of community organization for health and welfare costs money. Interestingly enough, war conditions have led to rather large increases in appropriations for community organization service, a large percentage of which, of course, is in connection with personnel. Public funds, local, state, and Federal, all too often

unavailable for so subtle and intangible a thing as community organization, have been appropriated fairly generously as an emergency measure. There has been a slower but steady increase in the amount of private funds that are available for such purposes. It is extremely unfortunate that the great shortage of competent staff material has detracted considerably from the effectiveness of many projects. We shall probably come out of the war with more funds for use in this field, but there will undoubtedly be a rather general tendency to cut off public appropriations on the grounds that they were made on a war-emergency basis.

The great increase in interest and activity in community organization matters during the war has resulted, at times, in unwise and ill-conceived developments. In some places, councils have been organized without any relation to a total community plan nor to any previous activity. In a few instances community organization activity itself has provided what amounted to an "escape" from handling the real problems involved. There have been efforts to solve such all-inclusive problems as delinquency by merely creating a "council" on the subject. But it is important that any movement which has as its sole aim the intelligent coördination of community resources should itself be intelligently organized and well integrated.

It seems evident that we can expect the form, the scope, the auspices, and the extent of community organization to undergo some fairly far-reaching changes. Have there been similar changes in our ideas about the basic principles and procedures which have previously been considered sound? I think the answer is unqualifiedly "No." In fact, over and over again we have seen demonstrated the soundness of following the simple and time-tested methods which progressive communities had learned are so important. I refer to such things as the realization, (1) that no plan of operation can be successful without the participation of "top-flight" leadership; (2) that competent, paid community organization service or its equivalent is essential; (3) that proper fact-gathering must be the first step in any planning activity; (4) that community organization is not something that is done by a planning body, but is rather a process which takes place through whatever machinery is established; (5) that the people who know about a given problem and who are concerned with the recommendations which may be made about handling it should participate in the planning process; (6) that existing resources should be used wherever possible; (7) that community organization has to grow—it can be stimulated, it can

be guided, but it cannot be promoted or handed down ready made on a mass-production basis; (8) that the whole process must be one of voluntary association without power or authority other than that of group thought; (9) that problems must be handled by carefully selected groups large enough to represent the major interests concerned, but small enough to be efficient.

I have a theory that the idea of community organization is found in various stages of development and that there is, or at least should be, a definite pattern of evolution from one level to another, adding new functions and new approaches as experience is gained. Many communities, many agencies, and many individuals tend to approach community organization on what might be called a "get-acquainted" basis. They see the value of having the boards and staffs of the different agencies know each other as individuals and know about the activities of the other organizations. They also see the value of having citizens generally know about the various problems and services.

From this stage it is a not too difficult step to the "coöperation" level. Common services are established, agency agreements are worked out, and so-called duplication and overlapping are eliminated. Somewhere along in here realization of the value and power of joint action begins to dawn. An interest in mobilizing to secure more and better services then develops. This may involve some consideration of community "priorities" and a certain amount of subjection of agency and individual interest to the needs of the community as a whole.

But this is not the end. There is possible a still further development—the approach to community organization which starts with people and problems and services and then works backward to the agencies and how they fit into the picture. Too often we have not gone deep enough in our planning. Too often we have started and stopped with consideration of agencies and departments of government and their respective programs. The war has stimulated us to go back to fundamentals. It has focused attention on the problems and the "end" of social welfare services rather than the "means to the end." We have learned that merely strengthening existing services and establishing new ones may not always be enough.

We have seen consultation and information centers developed whose apparent purpose is to get the services and the people who need them together, but which are actually signs of a much more enlightened approach to this whole matter of developing a community plan to meet the needs as they really exist and to meet

problems at least half way. These are not just "common services" to agencies. They are an attempt to get social and health services in touch with problems in the early stages where these services can be most effective, and also to look at families and individuals as a whole—bringing in the specialties as and when needed, but all in relation to the total problem.

There has been an increasing number of instances where groups of agencies and citizens have banded together to tackle a certain situation and where the results have been a completely new pattern of operation and agency relationships. It is quite apparent that war conditions have encouraged more activity on this last and highest level of community organization.

The net effect of this war on community organization for health and welfare not only is great, but it shows every evidence of being positive and constructive. There will be losses as well as gains, and by no means will the progress be uniform or universal. But right here is where community organization workers—paid and unpaid—come in. We, as well as events and circumstances, will have a lot to do with what happens. Our vision, our skill, our energy, our flexibility, our realism, and our ability to make daily decisions in the light of our long-term objectives will be the major factors in determining the specific effect of the war on the state of community organization development in our respective cities.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION UNDER PUBLIC AUSPICES

I: FROM THE FEDERAL VIEWPOINT

By THOMAS DEVINE

MANY NATIONAL organizations and most Federal agencies and state administrations are talking about community organization and in one way or another are working at it. Any discussion, however, soon discloses the widest variation in the meaning attached to these words by different individuals and organizations. "Community organization" might be defined as coöperative planning and coördinated action by all community forces for the purpose of providing to families the opportunity for a normal life.

During the prewar period, particularly in the last twenty-five years, two principal approaches to the business of planning for human needs developed. The first of these is the community approach exemplified by the council of social agencies movement; the second is the governmental pattern of Federal-state-local coöperation.

Councils of social agencies have developed and proven certain principles and methods without which, we now recognize, there can be no sound community organization or planning. These include: recognition of the need for qualified professional leadership trained in community organization; realization of the importance of democratic participation by all interested groups in the development of community plans; the use of factual information as a basis for planning; and an understanding of the interrelationship of various services.

In the early days of the council movement, a substantial part of the health and welfare work in every community was supported by private funds, and in some communities most of the work was supported in this way. Such responsibility as public bodies assumed was frequently discharged by subsidizing private agencies. This

situation has been steadily changing, and today most of the basic social services in every community are supported largely by public funds. While this has been coming about, there has been a strong and definite trend away from the subsidy system. Social workers and councils of social agencies have led in advocating the adequate financing of public services and, also, the principle that public funds should be spent by public agencies.

The corollary of this principle is that planning for the expenditure of public funds should be done by public bodies. This change, more than anything else, has prevented councils of social agencies from fully achieving the role of community-wide planning councils. It is true that most councils include public agencies in their membership, but too often this participation is in the nature of a favor. Executives of public agencies, responsible to local government, rarely join with the representatives of other agencies in truly co-operative planning. The main influence of councils of social agencies has been upon the programs of private agencies, while public programs have, in general, been the result of executive decisions. The influence that councils have had on public programs has been based upon the intelligent use of factual information, upon community educational campaigns, and upon personal contact with key individuals.

The fact that councils exist in only 350 medium-sized and larger communities, too often in name only, is another reason why they have not had a greater influence upon American community life.

The second major approach in planning for human needs has been a governmental pattern of Federal-state-local coöperation. In unemployment relief, old-age assistance, vocational rehabilitation, housing, and other programs the Federal Government, state governments, and local governments participate in the financing, planning, and administration. There have been many problems of relationship to be worked out among these three different kinds of government, and until recently attention has been focused mainly on their learning how to work together. These two developments—the community organization, or horizontal approach, and the Federal-state-local, or vertical approach—had, up to the start of the war, never really met.

Turning from the prewar period to the war years, we find a tremendous increase in the number of national programs which had to be carried out in communities, and in the number of community problems the solving of which involved local, state, and Federal resources. With the war we find also the defense council plan,

adopted as a means of furnishing, under local government, community machinery for integrating public and private, horizontal and vertical, programs. Every state today has a defense council, all but two of which are established by legislation. In twenty-nine states with 61 percent of the nation's population, state and local defense councils are specifically charged by law with the wartime responsibility for coördinating all activities in health, welfare, recreation, housing, and similar fields. In the other nineteen states, defense councils have accepted this responsibility under a broad grant of power.

Analyzing the wartime experience of hundreds of communities and borrowing from the methods developed over the years by the community organization movement, the Office of Civilian Defense developed a pattern of organization and recommended it in 1943 to state defense councils and through them to local defense councils. This pattern has since been adopted by more than fifteen hundred communities.

As developed, the organization includes, in addition to the structure necessary for promoting national war campaigns, a number of committees concerned with planning and coördinating basic services. The most common committees deal with education, health and medical problems, housing, manpower, recreation, welfare and child care, agriculture, the consumer, nutrition, and transportation. These committees invariably include four kinds of people in their membership: (1) delegates from public and private agencies or organizations having an active interest in the problems with which the committee deals; (2) individuals with a technical knowledge of the field; (3) community leaders who can command interest and support; and (4) representatives of the groups that are affected by the services with which a particular committee is concerned. Obviously, any one member may belong in two or more of these classifications. Small communities usually have additional basic committees or a number of subcommittees.

The key to the success of those communities that have adopted the recommended pattern is the War Services Board—the body through which Federal, state, and local programs are coördinated. The Board includes in its membership the chairmen of the major committees and service units and, in addition, carefully selected business, labor, professional, religious, and civic leaders who can command a following and who can secure community action. Through this board, an official planning body is developed which is above suspicion of control by special interests.

At a recent conference in Washington, the chairman of the War Services Board in a large Eastern city submitted a roster of the membership of the Board in that city. The Board includes representatives of the Retail Merchants Association, the Association of Commerce, the Community Fund, the Council of Social Agencies, the medical faculty of the state university, the Rotary Club, the Junior League, the Women's Civic League, and other outstanding organizations. It boasts of a leading Catholic layman, a Negro minister, two high-ranking labor union officials, two bank presidents and a former state bank commissioner, two leading industrialists, two top-notch educators, a former juvenile court judge, the welfare department head, a practical farmer, a president of an insurance company, a lawyer, the USO Council chairman, a member of the state legislature, an engineer, and other civic leaders. The chairman failed to mention that he, himself, an outstanding, socially minded banker, is a member of the board of Community Chests and Councils, Inc.

Thus, through the War Services Boards of local defense councils, a method of operation has been developed which combines the prestige and authority of local government with the principles of joint planning and coöperative action that have been developed by councils of social agencies. More than that, a way has been developed in which citizens can work as a part of their own local government in solving the many problems of human need.

This recommended plan, including representative committees and a War Services Board, is about a year old. Current figures are not available, but on December 31, 1943, 25 percent of the communities with a population of more than twenty-five thousand and 20 percent of the communities between five and twenty-five thousand had developed this type of organization.

There are innumerable examples to prove that a defense council committee can be nonpolitical, that it can be broader and more representative than a particular city administration. In fact, fears of partisan political domination of public planning bodies seem to be as ill-founded as the fears of public administration of relief, so prevalent in the early 30s. The report that the defense council's committee on youth problems in a medium-sized city in the Deep South readily secured action on its recommendation that the city "appoint a recreation commission that knew something about recreation instead of politically or socially prominent people with no interest in this field" is typical of experiences which point up the folly of such fears. This committee is pushing forward a program

to get children needing service into nursery school centers; to secure a substantially increased recreation budget which would make provision for the preschool child; to organize youth councils; to establish community centers; to secure adequate police protection for housing developments; to build and equip a modern high school for Negro children at the earliest possible moment; to establish a more efficient truant system; to check the violations of child labor laws; and to add to the juvenile court an adequate staff of trained probation officers, both white and colored.

The OCD field staff has carried on its normal functions, such as advising about defense council organization, assisting in the development and conduct of institutes, and aiding in the training of state field staffs.

The service which the OCD has rendered in maintaining liaison with other Federal agencies brings us to the third part of this discussion, namely, bridging the gap between Federal programs and local community organization. The importance of this function is not generally understood. The liaison service with other Federal agencies is designed to secure coöperation between Federal agencies and defense councils. Because of the complexity of many of these agencies, because of the continuous shift in program and frequent changes in personnel, it is necessary to maintain these contacts continuously in order to know what programs and plans are in the making and also in order to encourage these agencies to work through state and local councils. Such contacts also make it possible for the OCD to present to Federal agencies some of the points of view and problems of state and local councils and to encourage the shaping of the programs in such a way that they can be carried out with maximum effectiveness and minimum effort.

It is difficult for one who has not been closely associated with the liaison activity to appreciate how much planning and effort go into any one campaign or program. For example, "Introduction to the Armed Forces," a plan of pre-induction orientation for selectees, was first tried out in Cleveland. Before it could be suggested to the country many conferences had to be held by OCD liaison officers with members of the War Department, the Navy, the Marines, the American Red Cross, the Office of Education, and Selective Service, and scores of letters were written and numerous telephone calls made.

With the present multiplicity of national campaigns and the complexity of both state and Federal programs, this liaison service and the constant channeling of programs by the OCD have become an

essential of integrated community operation. The OCD has been able to carry on this liaison successfully because it is a service, not a program, agency—serving communities and states on the one hand, and program agencies on the other.

It has been frequently forecast that, as out of World War I came joint financing through community chests, so out of this war will come broad community social planning and a method of operation in which public and private agencies can work together on a truly coöperative basis. The decisions that will be made, community by community, during the next few months will determine the accuracy or inaccuracy of these prophecies.

Many states and communities are determined that they will not sacrifice the community-wide organization which they have developed in their war services operations. Many others are planning to organize their communities. The United States Chamber of Commerce has recently issued a manual recommending the establishment of health committees under chambers of commerce which "should seek to coördinate the activities of all health agencies—public and private—to develop community leadership that will be accepted by all groups, to involve the interests of all citizens and to educate them in sound health practices." *Community Action for Postwar Jobs and Profits*, issued by the United States Department of Commerce, provides a blueprint for community organization covering the whole field, from industrial development to city planning to health and welfare services. Organized labor has become active in seeking the improvement of community conditions. On the ground "that many groups as well as individuals are looking for ways and means of continuing the coöperation secured through local Defense Councils on into the postwar period," the American Association for Adult Education has been promoting community organization through adult education councils. With a field staff of six, the Presbyterian Church is promoting an interdenominational organization of church members for community planning and service, with particular reference to the postwar period.

An important project is being carried on by the Council on Intergovernmental Relations composed of Harold Smith, Paul McNutt, Philip B. Fleming, M. L. Wilson, William Anderson, Luther H. Gulick, Earl Mallery, and Frank Bane. In a statement of "What the Council Believes," disagreement is expressed with "the feeling by those at the top and in control that the people at the local level are not capable of handling the problems which arise." Rather, the Council "believes that this feeling has arisen, not as a result of the

incapacity of the people, but rather is it due to the absence of interagency coördination at the local level and a positive citizen interest and participation in the direction of 'our government.' ” The Council has received a foundation grant and is providing executive assistance for the development of experimental programs.

One of the most important groups now taking professional interest in this field is that of local governmental officials. The National Resources Planning Board had, prior to its dissolution, developed a technique for community organization which was tried out in Corpus Christi, Salt Lake City, and Tacoma. Recommendations based on these experiences were set forth in *Action for Cities*, a joint publication of the American Municipal Association, the American Society of Planning Officials, and the International City Managers Association. During the past year, most of the state leagues of municipalities have held training institutes for municipal officials based on these recommendations.

As communities have organized to meet their wartime problems, five principles have emerged that should be preserved in future community planning and organization. The first principle is that community, state, and national action is involved in the solution of most health and welfare problems. A community which undertakes to achieve an adequate education, housing, transportation, health, or other basic program soon finds itself looking to the state or Federal Government for assistance. On the other hand, a Federal or state agency which undertakes to render a basic service soon finds itself frustrated unless it has the interest, support, and advice of the local community.

The second principle—or perhaps a corollary of the first—is that need exists for a national liaison service to facilitate coöperative action by communities, states, and Federal and national agencies.

The third principle is that the effective solution of a community's many interrelated problems requires joint planning which includes and influences both public and private programs.

The fourth principle is that the only agency which can effect an organization that will embrace all the people, that can command the participation and support of the scores of organizations and groups that exist in every community, is local government. As Dean Landis once put it, “The task is too huge, too embracing for private organizations or for groups banded together by any tie less than that of being American.”

The last principle is that, though officially connected with local government, the planning body must be above suspicion of control

by political groups or special interests, and that through participation of all parties and groups it must be broader and more representative than any particular administration.

Coöperation and coördination capable of achieving the objective of community organization involve acceptance of the principles enumerated, including the War Services Board type of representative organization under local government. It also involves drawing professional staff from the experienced personnel of the community organization field. It involves a real appreciation of coöperative planning by public officials and, finally, it demands enlightened support and participation by labor, business, religious, social work, and educational groups.

II: FROM THE STATE VIEWPOINT

By HERSCHEL W. NISONGER

THE MEMBERSHIP of the Ohio State Council of Defense consists of representatives from the state departments of government and from major state organizations which have resources available to assist in the war effort. The functions of the state Council are as follows:

1. To assist state agencies and organizations in planning and coördinating their efforts to meet the problems arising out of the war: some of these problems are state-wide in nature, and others involve help to the local communities
2. To assist counties and local communities in organizing civilian defense councils and to provide consultation service to help them in developing their programs: at present there are nearly one thousand county and local defense councils operating in Ohio
3. To assist Federal agencies in integrating their program with state and local programs and to furnish a channel through which local agencies can make effective use of their services

The civilian defense councils have done an excellent job. The quality of the programs being carried on by local councils will naturally vary from community to community. A critical appraisal of their organization and program show certain strengths and weaknesses. Some of the strengths are:

1. They have been able, in the majority of communities, to se-

cure effective planning and coördination in the use of community resources through their War Service Boards and committees.

2. They have brought into a close working relationship both public and private agencies.

3. They have been closely identified with state and local governments, which has enabled them to use the resources of government more adequately.

4. They have secured wide participation on the part of local agencies and individuals.

5. They have done a superb job of recruiting, training, and placing volunteers.

Some of the weaknesses are:

1. Civilian defense councils had to be organized quickly and, frequently, from the top down, which sometimes resulted in an unfortunate choice of leadership and in insufficient training.

2. While War Service Boards and committees are fairly representative of local agencies and individuals, they were selected and appointed by central authorities rather than being named by the agencies themselves. This was also inevitable because of the rapidity with which the task had to be accomplished.

3. State councils of defense are largely interagency planning bodies representing state departments of government and state organizations. They are not federations or associations of local councils.

Local communities should be encouraged to begin as soon as possible to plan for the kind of community planning agency which will meet their needs in the postwar period. This may be accomplished by a reorganization of their local defense council or by setting up a new organization which is more suitable to their local needs.

We should do everything possible to hold the gains which we have made and build toward a sound community organization pattern which will serve us in the days ahead. It is my hope that out of this war experience will come a sound pattern of organization for community planning. It is also my hope that public agencies will assume their share of the leadership.

III: FROM THE COMMUNITY VIEWPOINT

By C. ELLIS HENICAN

IT HAS BEEN my privilege to serve as the executive of Civilian War Services of the Office of Civilian Defense in the city of New Orleans since its inception. We organized Civilian War Services according to the national pattern; that is, we established thirteen or fourteen separate divisions with an over-all Executive Committee which does the general planning. In setting up our organization, we brought together the best available professional persons from all the important public and private agencies within our city, as well as the outstanding lay leaders. My job has been solely that of a coördinator.

Perhaps I can best illustrate some of the advantages of community organization under public auspices and the unlimited possibilities of such broad planning by relating our experiences in developing an industrial food program in New Orleans. In March, 1943, a local newspaper reporter consulted us about an article in which he expected to make many unfavorable comments regarding the feeding of employees in our war plants. The matter was promptly referred to the chairman of our Nutrition Committee. As a result of an early meeting of a few key persons from industry and from the public and private agencies, the proposed destructive publicity was avoided and a truly representative Industrial Food Committee was organized. The most important members of this committee were leading officials of the three largest shipbuilding companies in New Orleans, of the United States Maritime Commission, the Association of Commerce, the War Production Board, the United States Public Health Service, the City Board of Health, the American Federation of Labor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the Office of Price Administration, the local Restaurant Men's Association, our largest private hospital, the American Red Cross, the Louisiana State Board of Health, the Food Distribution Administration, and the Civilian Defense Volunteer Office.

When these various persons were approached they were definitely not optimistic. Many of them had already tried, with little or no success, to work out their own problems. Some felt that nothing could be done to help the food allotment situation and, moreover, that it would be impossible to get employees in industry to change their eating habits so as to obtain the fullest advantage of available

nutritious foods. Nevertheless, the lay chairman of our Nutrition Committee prevailed upon all these important persons to attend at least one committee meeting to see what might be done.

I attended that meeting; and it was perfectly amazing to witness what transpired. Even the best informed members of the committee obviously did not understand the community problems, but as the representatives discussed their individual cases, what they considered to be needed, and what were the obstructions, the whole situation began to make a community pattern. It was not unlike working a jig-saw puzzle. As the last pieces were placed there was a total community picture, put together for the first time.

One of the chief problems appeared to be the fact that there had been absolutely no change in food allotments, either in the state or in the entire Gulf area, since our great increase in population. There had been an increase of approximately one hundred and fifty-eight thousand workers in the regional district, but the amount of food available had not been proportionally increased, if it had been increased at all. Another problem was that the concessionaires in the important war industries had great difficulty in obtaining food, chiefly because they were regarded merely as ordinary restaurateurs. Moreover, there was a high rate of absenteeism in outlying construction jobs due to the inadequate canteen services. Then too, in many plants the facilities for feeding were so arranged and so managed that there was scarcely enough time for all the workers to be fed in the period that was allotted for meals.

I say unhesitatingly that all these facts were not known to any one person who attended the first meeting. And yet each one of those representatives had been trying for quite some time to solve what he thought was an individual problem but which, in reality, was a far-reaching community problem. Within one hour after the first meeting, the Federal Food Administrator was advised of local conditions. He was amazed and promised quick relief. In two days the OPA released 450,000 pounds of meat for our area, and since that time the local meat situation has consistently improved.

To remedy the other situations, two special committees were formed, one to investigate all food allotments, and the other to survey concessions and canteens. The survey indicated strongly that most industries were absorbed with production and had overlooked the importance of properly feeding their employees; and that the concessionaires were primarily interested in making the greatest possible profit on their sales. Some of the canteens and restaurants were found to be alarmingly unsanitary. Furthermore, it was dis-

covered that many of the problems of the concessionaires, particularly those which involved priorities, were dissolved when an industry engaged in war production took over the feeding of its own workers. This was not always an easy transition. A representative of one of our leading shipbuilding companies declared that while he could successfully manage the building of large ships, he did not feel equal to the task of running a lunch room for his workers. When it was demonstrated that by taking the food concession from commercial restaurateurs, the workers would receive better food and more food, and, moreover, that the plant had better facilities, the resistance was usually overcome. While all these problems have not been fully solved, we feel that important results have been achieved, not only in the city of New Orleans, but over the entire Gulf area.

This plan of convening the interested parties for a full discussion of total problems has invariably led to successful planning and has brought sound solutions out of potential chaos. It worked in our transportation crisis; it has materially assisted us in meeting the demand for recreation by thousands of servicemen; and it has enabled us successfully to promote the many drives and campaigns directly and indirectly associated with the war effort.

When this horrible conflict is over, there will be just as many, if not more, community problems; but there will be no Office of Civilian Defense. In some communities, however, there will be the privately financed council of social agencies. These councils have done yeoman service in readjusting themselves to meet the new demands in the field of social service. Unfortunately, these private agencies do not have, and probably cannot secure, the necessary financial support to carry the entire community planning burden. Moreover, even if such support were available, there are still many important persons who resist the idea of being "coördinated" by a council of social agencies. Most communities have become highly interested in community problems involving health, education, welfare, and recreation. We must capitalize on this interest and convert it into improvements not heretofore anticipated; but in order to do this there must be well-designed and carefully executed plans. These plans must come from the professional, lay, and public leaders of the community. There will be a great need for funds to finance such planning groups; and the success of each endeavor will hinge greatly upon the ability to secure total community support.

Therefore, there will unquestionably be demands in hundreds of communities for the establishment of community organizations

for the making of plans to meet community problems. These organizations must be truly community organizations; and they must necessarily be under public auspices. I should very much dislike to see the postwar era come without our having a well-developed community organization under public auspices; I would be equally distressed over the loss of our council of social agencies as a real factor in community planning. One of the greatest benefits which we have derived from Civilian War Services is that we have learned the force of, and the necessity for, such a community organization.

STATE WAR FUND EXPERIENCES IN RURAL AREAS

By HOWARD A. AMERMAN

TO BE SELF-RELIANT and at the same time to be a good neighbor is a traditional attribute of the American farmer. For generations he has demonstrated the efficacy of direct action in meeting any emergency; and because of this stalwart, forthright capacity he has been slow to see the need for organized social welfare planning and action. Nevertheless, he is today demonstrating his capacity to recognize the needs of his fellow men and is responding in a splendidly coöperative way.

The primary purpose of the national and state war fund is to raise funds to finance war-related services to our armed forces and our allies. However, there is, by the very nature of the organization, a basic and abiding interest in the welfare problems of the home front. Therefore, county campaign committees have been encouraged to include, along with war fund quotas, budgets to meet community welfare needs. As a result of this policy, state war fund field workers from all over the country report that many cities, towns, and county groups are asking help in establishing county committees, permanent chests, and planning councils.

I requested state war fund directors to tell me briefly what they thought rural and semirural areas were going to want after the war in the way of local, county, area, state, and national organization and advisory services in connection with welfare planning and federated financing. Most of the fifteen replies express the general opinion that the rural areas are not yet aware of the need or possibilities along this line. Right now those areas are most interested in winning the war and getting their boys home in order that they may rehabilitate their own communities. They anticipate a temporary postwar reaction against regimented "must" giving. None of them, as Philo C. Dix, director for Arkansas said,

preclude the possibility that war activities will have an after effect upon local community life that will eventuate in the development of new

lines of state-wide effort; although, at the present, there may be no indication that the opportunities inherent in the State War Fund set-up will be developed, largely because it is nobody's business to do so and there are no individuals or groups deeply enough concerned to undertake the task.

Thomas L. Carroll, formerly director of the North Carolina State War Fund said, however, in a recent address at a conference called by the National War Fund in New York, as quoted from the Council March, 1944, issue of *Community*:

It has been said recently that the emphasis on community organization today is fast moving and chaotic, that if we do not move with it, its dynamic evolution will leave us behind. To take the State of North Carolina for an example, there exists in respect to community organization at this moment more concern and activity—vocal and otherwise—than ever before in the state's history.

The state university, state department of welfare, and the State Conference for Social Service, all have influenced the rapid move in this direction.

Even more significant and encouraging, however, is the growing concern for community organization that is coming up from the grass roots, from the thinking of folks who live right down on Main Street and even out at the crossroads, in rural areas.

Recently, local USO Committees from a network of ten cities and towns met in Farmville, N.C. It was apparent, as the real community leaders told their stories, that they were thinking not only of their immediate responsibilities for war services, but also of the need for an immediate beginning in providing similar services for the children, the young people, the men and women who live in their communities. That was as convincing a demonstration as could have been provided of the "fast-moving" grass roots emphasis on community organization. It emphasized not only ways in which the state war fund could help these communities to realize their new ambitions, but how much it already has contributed toward this exciting development.

The Michigan Community Chest and Councils Association has petitioned the Michigan United War Fund, Inc., to take the necessary steps to provide in Michigan a year-around service to individual communities and areas in community organization; to explore the relationship of intrastate social welfare agencies; to institute proper training for community organization and federated financing in chest and non-chest areas; to develop state-wide educational programs; and to provide special services related to campaigns, stand-

ards, and techniques in the fields of community organization, federated financing, and welfare services.

This proposal has raised the question as to whether or not well-organized, self-sufficient communities usually found in urban areas will be willing to have some of their funds go into weaker areas on the basis of need, as has been the case during the war emergency in connection with the National War Fund and the financing of USO, War Prisoners' Aid, and United Nations Relief.

From California's War Chest director comes the report that several of the rural leaders have expressed interest in seeing that the California War Chest continues after the war has terminated. Reports from the field indicate that several of the counties see the need of a war chest on a county level, because duplication has been eliminated to a large degree and channels have been established to get needed relief and services in the right amount, to the right place, at the right time.

Two years ago I discovered Southern Illinois, Inc., a potential sixteen-county "powerhouse" for good; capable, ready, and willing to help. This voluntary organization of businessmen, industrial leaders, educators, clergymen, miners and mine operators, doctors, lawyers, public utility operators, farmers, bankers, editors, and economists has banded together for the economic and social betterment of "Egypt." "Egypt" is a blighted area of worn-out and eroded soil, exhausted mines, and a complete lack of industrial opportunity. During the depression from 25 percent to 50 percent of the population was on relief. Always this area has lost the cream of its youth, its best potential brain power, because it had nothing worth while to offer them.

Under the leadership of its president, O. W. Lyerla, of Herrin, and backed by hundreds of community leaders with vision and courage, this organization has already made considerable progress and intends to bring permanent prosperity, health, happiness, security, and ample opportunity to the youth of the area through reforestation, building up the soil, diversified farming, more adequate water supply, electric power, diversified industries, airports, direct contacts with national markets, vocational education and better educational facilities, ample recreational facilities, hospitals, health and mental hygiene services, and a coordinated program of social welfare planning and financing. The leaders of Southern Illinois, Inc., say that they need and want state and national advisory services in connection with the development of their social planning program.

T. W. May, farm adviser and campaign chairman for Madison County and a member of the Illinois State War Fund Board of Directors, and E. C. Secor, farm adviser and campaign chairman for Randolph County, concur in the opinion that to increase rural participation in community organization for social planning will be a slow process. Rural and urban people will have to be brought much closer together if the farmers are going to be concerned in the social welfare of the average small town and its adjacent area.

They believe that the interest which local rural groups will take in state-wide welfare planning will depend largely upon the interest and activity shown by the larger units of farmers' organizations, on state, regional, and national levels. The coöperation of the agricultural extension services of the state colleges of agriculture and the United States Department of Agriculture will also be essential.

They suggest that we be careful not to give the impression that we think rural people are contributing too little to social welfare. They remind us that the rural areas are bearing the expense of rearing and educating large numbers of children who spend their productive years in the cities. Allowing only \$150 a year for the cost of rearing the child, including community costs, such as schools, the average farm youth at fifteen years of age represents an investment of from \$2,000 to \$2,500. Thus the 9,500,000 farm youths who moved to the cities from 1920 to 1939 represent a transfer of about \$22,000,000,000 from the farming communities to the cities. In 1942 the movement exceeded 1,300,000, representing an investment of almost \$3,000,000,000. There is no way of knowing, but it is believed that only a very small percentage of these people are ever dependent upon organized charities.

They add that most farm people do not realize that some of the most abject cases of poverty exist in the rural areas. They say that the so-called rural slums are especially bad in areas where soil erosion depletion has made it impossible to make a decent living on the farm and that the agricultural agencies seeking to correct such bad conditions will certainly welcome social planning for these areas.

Opinions from lawyers, clergymen, manufacturers, housewives, educators, farmers, businessmen, and accountants who have served as county chairmen in Illinois concur generally in the belief expressed by W. M. Pargellis, chairman for Pulaski County:

When the rural area is as fully conversant with the necessities and advantages of social welfare as the urban areas where these movements have

been largely developed and fostered for years, farmers, particularly those coming out of agricultural schools and colleges after the war, will be just as keen as the urban areas to secure health, welfare and character developing social agencies and will likewise use chest methods to finance them. We find no lack of desire on the part of rural people to finance what they understand.

Rural and semirural county War Fund committees in Illinois are taking it for granted that they are to carry on on a year-around basis and are now writing us that their county committees want to meet soon to elect officers, appoint campaign committees, and discuss local agency inclusions and budgets. The report is the same from the state of Maine, where the state campaign director, Louis Collier, says: "We have since last year developed autonomous War Chest county organization in the 16 counties of Maine, all affiliated with our State War Chest. As to the future we believe this type of community organization has merits in a peacetime world and will depend to a large extent on the interest of volunteer lay leaders."

More than one third of the 102 counties in Illinois have some type of community chest. Twenty-two chests in urban areas have a full-time paid executive and staff, and twenty-three smaller chests are operating on a volunteer and part-time basis. Eleven established urban chests have expanded in the past two years and are now on a county war fund basis. City and town community chests formerly believed that county coöperation would be difficult to secure, but experience proves that this is not the case.

Communities all over the state want youth recreation centers patterned after the USO. Benton and Marion are planning to finance them by referendum-voted taxation. Mt. Vernon and Jefferson County recently organized the Jefferson County Community Chest and War Fund. They requested and were given advisory service by the Illinois State War Fund staff while making their organization plans. Lawrenceville is making plans to take over an excellently equipped USO and make it a permanent community center with a full-time paid director and coöordinator, a planned program, and with house facilities open to all social agencies of the county. The Elks Club and the American Legion have joined forces to raise money to buy the building. This project will be a success because of its leadership, a small group with vision, courage, and determination.

All of this is an indication of widespread recognition of a growing need and is the first step toward successful community organization for social action. While agreeing that there is no substitute

for parental training, most people now recognize an increasingly serious problem in connection with the recreation of young people. There is reason to believe that the day may be near at hand when all folks will wish to join in furthering such causes as the Boy Scouts and the Girl Scouts, the Young Men's Christian Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, and the Salvation Army through one united effort. A member of the Illinois field staff recently said: "I think local men and women are seeing what concerted effort, under expert over-all leadership, can and will accomplish. I think they will demand county organizations, affiliated, perhaps with state and national hook-up."

Spokesmen for Community Chests & Councils, Inc., say:

Although community organization has been going on over a period of years in rural areas, the development has been largely an urban one. This, of course, is understandable. The community chest and council movement has been an urban development because of the more obvious pressure of social problems in the cities and the greater amount of resultant activity in connection with doing something about them.

It is only comparatively recently that we are awakening to the problems in rural areas and to the need of meeting them. To a large extent what has been done in rural areas in the way of community organization has been carried on under the auspices of some organization or department of government with too little general citizen participation.

With the advent of federated financial campaigns in thousands of rural and semi-rural communities, the citizens in these areas have experienced the effectiveness of organizing their communities to carry out a project. They therefore are receptive to the continuation of the coöperative relationship to meet other local needs. The many requests to Community Chests & Councils, Inc., for help to set up permanent community organization machinery are an indication of this receptivity.

It is physically impossible for Community Chests & Councils, Inc., to meet all of these requests. It would seem logical to have State war funds expand their function to advise regarding the development of community organization in these rural and semi-rural areas and to give these communities necessary service. An appropriate relationship can be established between Community Chests & Councils, Inc., and the State organizations.

The Illinois Federation of Retail Associations and the Illinois Chain Store Council, Inc., are interested in the organization of community chests in every county in the state. They are interested in social planning as well as in federated financing because they have an economic interest in the welfare of their customers. They realize, however, that federated financing is the means to an end through which they can best serve, and they are volunteering their

services accordingly. As expressed by Gilbert M. Clayton, executive director of the Illinois Chain Store Council and a member of the Board of Directors of the Illinois State War Fund:

I think it is sound procedure to put any chest on an area basis rather than on a city basis. Then we must be sure the social agencies benefiting from the funds are for everyone in the chest area and we must be sure that everyone in the chest area understands that. Next there must be a logical distribution of the quota among the different groups in the area. There must be factors that will make this possible. These classifications should include the businesses and industries that are important in a given area—retailing, manufacturing, agriculture, banking, the professions and property owners.

These reactions lead to the conclusion that a state organization may be desirable after the war, not only as a fund-raising instrument for agencies and services functioning on a state-wide basis, but to provide advisory service in connection with the operation of local, district, and area community organization and welfare planning. Any such demand should come from the local level and should be broadly representative of the major interest groups of the area. Certainly, no superimposed planning should be attempted by state or national organizations. Each area should decide its needs and what it wants to do. Then, upon request, a state advisory staff might help them do what the area leaders want to do.

APPENDIX A: PROGRAM

GENERAL SESSIONS

Sunday, May 21—The President's Address: War and the Social Services.
Elizabeth Wisner, Dean, School of Social Work, Tulane University,
New Orleans, La.; President, National Conference of Social Work.
See Index.

Monday, May 22—A Nation Worthy of Heroes.
Max Lerner, Editorial Staff, *PM*, New York City. See Index.

Tuesday, May 23—The Task of Relief and Rehabilitation in the War-
torn Countries.
Herbert H. Lehman, Director General, United Nations Relief and
Rehabilitation Administration, Washington, D. C.

Wednesday, May 24—The Social Responsibility of Labor in Postwar
Society.
Matthew Woll, Chairman, Labor League for Human Rights; Mem-
ber, Executive Committee, National War Fund, New York City.
Irving Abramson, Chairman, National Congress of Industrial Organ-
izations War Relief Committee, Newark, N. J. See Index.

Thursday, May 25—4:00 P.M.: Annual business session.
8:30 P.M.: Associate group meetings.

Friday, May 26—A Constructive Program for the Problems of Minorities.
Edwin R. Embree, President, Julius Rosenwald Fund, Chicago. See
Index.

Saturday, May 27—The Future for Social Work.
Leonard W. Mayo, Dean, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western
Reserve University, Cleveland. See Index.

THE SECTIONS

SOCIAL CASE WORK

Monday, May 22—Rehabilitation of Men Discharged as Disabled from
Military Service.

1. Reasons for the Separation of Disabled Men from Military Service.
Lieutenant Colonel Cornelius E. Gorman, Medical Corps, United
States Army, Washington, D. C.

2. Programs for Training and Placement of the Disabled.
Tracy Copp, Regional Representative, Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Chicago.
3. Community Case Work Services in This Program of Rehabilitation.
Eleanor Cockerill, Associate Professor of Social Case Work, School of Applied Social Sciences, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Tuesday, May 23—Social Case Work in New Settings.

Group Meeting 1. Short-Contact Interviewing.

Marx Bowens, Personal Service Division, United Seamen's Service, New York City.

Discussant:

Mary Ellen Hoffman, Associated Charities, Cleveland.

Group Meeting 2. Marital Counseling.

Elsie Martens, Assistant Professor of Social Case Work, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University; Supervisor, Institute of Family Service, Associated Charities, Cleveland. See Index.

Discussant:

Mrs. Stuart Mudd, Director, Marriage Counsel, Philadelphia.

Group Meeting 3. Case Work with Dependents of Servicemen.

Clara B. Bryant, Training Supervisor, American Red Cross, South-eastern Pennsylvania Chapter, Home Service Department, Philadelphia.

Discussants:

Dorothea M. Murray, Supervisor, Department of Public Welfare, Norwalk, Conn.

Marian Wyman, Case Consultant, Family Welfare Society, Boston.

Group Meeting 4. Case Work Service for Residents of Public Housing Projects.

1. The Utilization of Community-wide Case Work Agencies by Housing Authorities.

H. B. Trobe, Supervisor, Tenant Selection, Pittsburgh Housing Authority, Pittsburgh.

2. Experience in Extending Case Work to Residents of a Public Housing Project.

Dorothy Black, Family Service Association, Washington, D. C.

Discussant:

Sydney Maslen, Secretary, Committee on Housing, Community Service Society, New York City; Chairman, National Committee of Housing Associations, New York City.

Group Meeting 5. Counseling in Industry.

Grace Wilson, Chief, Personnel Counseling Section, Western Electric Company, Baltimore.

Group Meeting 6. Case Work in Unions.

Constance Kyle, Director, Personal Service Department, National Maritime Union of America, New York City. See Index.

Discussant:

Ruth Altman, Senior Caseworker, Jewish Children's Bureau, Chicago.

Wednesday, May 24—The Social Welfare Program of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

1. The United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration's Welfare Program in European Reconstruction.

Mary Craig McGeachy, Director, Welfare Division, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, Washington, D. C.

2. The Day-by-Day Operation of This Program.

Fred K. Hoehler, Director of Division on Displaced Persons, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration. See Index.

Thursday, May 25—

Group Meeting 1. Modification of Standards in Foster Home Care due to Wartime Conditions.

Dorothy Hutchinson, Assistant Professor of Social Work, New York School of Social Work, New York City. See Index.

Discussants:

Elizabeth B. Noyes, Director, Children's Service Bureau, Cleveland.
Ethel Verry, Executive Secretary, Chicago Orphan Asylum, Chicago.

Group Meeting 2. Selection and Supervision of Homes for Foster Day Care.

1. Experience in the Recruitment, Study, Selection, and Preparation of Homes for Foster Day Care.

Ruth Knapp, Supervisor of Home Studies, Indianapolis Emergency Day Care Services, Indianapolis.

2. Experience in the Supervision and Use of Foster Day Care Homes.

Rosa Johnston, Family Service Bureau, Houston, Texas. See Index.

Discussant:

Alice Dashiell, Child Welfare League of America, New York City.

Group Meeting 3. The Effect of Wartime Separation on Father-Child Relations.

Amelia Igel, Assistant Director, Bureau of Child Welfare, Department of Welfare, New York City.

Discussant:

Madeleine Lay, Secretary, Family and Child Welfare Services, Houston Community Chest and Council, Houston, Texas.

Group Meeting 4. Case Work Implications in the Care of the Aged.

1. Case Work Implications in Providing Public Assistance for the Aged.

Esther R. Elder, Director, Pasadena Welfare Bureau, Pasadena, Calif.

2. Other Case Work Implications in Caring for the Aged.

Rebecca Robinson, District Supervisor, Jewish Social Service Bureau, Chicago.

Discussant:

Ollie Randall, Community Service Society, New York City.

Friday, May 26—

9:00 A.M.-10:30 A.M.: (Joint Session with Section II—Social Group Work.) Case Work and Group Work Services in Wartime.

11:00 A.M.-12:30 P.M.: The Development of Social Case Work Skills.

1. Through In-Service Training in Agencies Facing Shortages of Professional Personnel.

Catherine Manning, City Department of Public Welfare, Rochester, N. Y.

2. Through Professional Education in a School of Social Work.

Rosa Wessel, Assistant Professor of Social Case Work, Pennsylvania School of Social Work, Philadelphia.

Discussant:

Ruth Smalley, Associate Professor, School of Applied Social Sciences, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh.

Saturday, May 27—Social Case Work in Public Assistance.

Marjorie J. Smith, Director, Course in Social Work, Department of Economics, Political Science, and Sociology, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada. See Index.

Discussant:

Faith Jefferson Jones, Case Work Supervisor, Blind Assistance, Public Assistance Division, Cook County Bureau of Public Welfare, Chicago.

SOCIAL GROUP WORK

Monday, May 22—Planning for Group Work Needs and Implications for the Future.

1. From the National Viewpoint.

Roy Sorenson, Associate General Secretary, National Council, Young Men's Christian Association; Chairman, National Office of Civilian Defense Youth Advisory Committees, Chicago. See Index.

2. From the Local Viewpoint.

Lucy Carner, Secretary, Division on Education and Recreation, Chicago Council of Social Agencies, Chicago.

Tuesday, May 23—Group Work in a War Community.

Panel Participants:

Mrs. Hiram Salisbury, Chairman, Group Work Section, Council of Social Agencies, Houston, Texas.

Franklin I. Harbach, Director, Houston Settlement Association, Houston, Texas.

Frank H. Herron, Boy's Worker, Ripley House Settlement, Houston, Texas.

Discussant:

Nathan Cohen, Director of Jewish Center Division, National Jewish Welfare Board, New York City.

Wednesday, May 24—Revitalizing Concepts of Leadership.

Group Discussion 1. Youth Programs.

Discussion Leader: Martha Allen, National Executive, Camp Fire Girls, New York City.

Discussants:

Jean Hall, Director of Program Department, National Council, Young Women's Christian Associations of the Dominion of Canada.

George Corwin, Program Division, National Council, Young Men's Christian Associations, New York City.

Group Discussion 2. Children's Programs.

Discussion Leader: Sanford Sollender, Executive Director, Council Educational Alliance, Cleveland.

Discussants:

Livingston Blair, National Director, American Junior Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

E. T. Attwell, Director, Bureau of Colored Work, National Recreation Association, New York City.

Group Discussion 3. Recreation as a Community Service in Housing Projects.

Discussion Leader: Clyde Murray, Headworker, Union Settlement, New York City.

Discussants:

Dorothy Kline, Project Services Supervisor, Federal Public Housing Authority, Willow Run, Mich.

John McDowell, Director, Soho Community House, Pittsburgh.

Group Discussion 4. Group Work with the Aged.

Discussion Leader: Lillie M. Peck, Secretary, National Federation of Settlements, New York City.

Discussants:

Oskar Schulze, Director, Recreational Services for Older People, Benjamin Rose Institute, Cleveland.

Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Director of Medicine, State Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, N. J.

Group Discussion 5. Participation of Japanese-Americans in Local Communities.

Discussion Leader: Eduard Marks, Relocation Division, War Relocation Authority, Washington, D. C.

Discussants:

Margaret Day, Executive Secretary, Arria Huntington Foundation, Syracuse, N. Y.

M. Kunitani, The Hostel, Cleveland.

Group Discussion 6. New Emphases in Camping.

Discussion Leader: Abbie Graham, Executive Committee, American Camping Association, Cleveland.

Discussants:

Charles Hendry, Director, Research and Statistical Service, Boy Scouts of America, New York City.

Wayne C. Sommer, Recreation Secretary, District of Columbia, Council of Social Agencies, Washington, D. C.

Thursday, May 25—Group Work Personnel in Wartime.

Group Discussion 1. Recruitment and Training.

Discussion Leader: Clara Kaiser, Professor of Social Work, New York School of Social Work, New York City.

Discussants:

Elizabeth Neely, Director of Personnel Division, National Board, Young Women's Christian Association, New York City.

Hedley S. Dimock, Coördinator of Training, United Service Organizations, New York City.

Group Meeting 2. Recreation for War Workers.

Sherwood Gates, Director of Recreation, Community War Services, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C.

Discussant:

Robert L. Kinney, Director of Community Services, National Congress of Industrial Organizations War Relief Committee, New York City.

Group Discussion 3. Personnel Practices.

Discussion Leader: Julia Warner, Adviser on Professional Work, Girl Scouts, New York City.

Discussants:

Ivy Van Etten, President, Local 38, Social Service Employees' Union, Pittsburgh.

Mary Jane Willett, Community War Services, National Board, Young Women's Christian Association, New York City.

Group Discussion 4. Coöperative Volunteer Training.

Discussion Leader: Mrs. Frank Berry, Co-director of Volunteer Office, Cuyahoga County Council of Civilian Defense, Cleveland.

Discussants:

Harry K. Eby, Director of Volunteer Training, Boy Scouts of America, New York City.

Louise P. Cochran, Assistant Regional Supervisor, United Service Organizations, Young Women's Christian Association, New York City.

Friday, May 26—

Group Meeting 1. (Joint Session with Section I—Social Case Work.) Case Work and Group Work Services in Wartime.

1. Services to Adolescents.

Mary Young, Secretary, Division on Family and Child Welfare, Chicago Council of Social Agencies, Chicago.

2. Services to Adolescents.

Margaret Berry, Supervisor, Soho Community House, Pittsburgh.

3. Area Projects.

Mildred Esgar, Group Work Secretary, Welfare Federation of Cleveland, Cleveland.

Group Meeting 2. (Joint Session with Section I—Social Case Work.) Case Work and Group Work Services in Wartime.

1. Collaboration of Recreation and Case Workers.

Katharine Cornwell, Head Recreation Worker, Fort Devens Station Hospital, Mass.

Geneva Sennett, Case Work Supervisor, Fort Devens Station Hospital, Mass.

2. Needs for Social Case Work as Revealed in Groups.
Cynthia R. Nathan, Assistant Director, Military and Naval Welfare Service, Eastern Area, Alexandria, Va. See Index.

Discussant:

Ruth Gartland, School of Applied Social Sciences, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh.

Saturday, May 27—

Group Meeting 1. Group Work and Demobilization.

Panel Participants:

Opal Boynton, United Service Organizations, Young Women's Christian Association.

David Danzig, United Service Organizations.

Nathan Cohen, Director of Jewish Center Division, National Jewish Welfare Board, New York City.

Raymond Bingham, Young Men's Christian Association.

Group Meeting 2. The Relationship of Group Work to the Program of Rehabilitation.

1. Group Work and Its Relation to Programs of Rehabilitation.
Erwin Schuller, Executive, British Council of Social Service, London, England. See Index.
2. Program of a Group Work Agency.
Helen Rowe, Consultant in Group Work, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Monday, May 22—Community Organization for Health and Welfare.
The Effect of This War on Community Organization for Health and Welfare.

Lyman S. Ford, Director, Health and Welfare Planning Department, Community Chests and Councils, New York City. See Index.

Discussant:

A. A. Heckman, General Secretary, Family Service, St. Paul, Minn.

Tuesday, May 23—Community Organization to Prevent Juvenile Delinquency.

1. Community Organization to Prevent Juvenile Delinquency.
Bradley Buell, Executive Editor, Survey Associates, New York City.
2. A Delinquency Prevention Program in Cleveland and Cuyahoga County.
W. T. McCullough, Research Secretary, Welfare Federation of Cleveland, Cleveland.

Wednesday, May 24—Participation of Organized Labor in Social Planning.

Robert H. MacRae, Managing Director, Council of Social Agencies of Metropolitan Detroit, Detroit. See Index.

Discussants:

Arch Mandel, Field Director, Community Chests and Councils, New York City.

Abraham Bluestein, Executive Director, Labor League for Human Rights, United Nations Relief, American Federation of Labor.

Ethel Polk, Director, National American Federation of Labor War Relief Committee, Indiana-Kentucky Area.

Thursday, May 25—

Group Discussion 1. Recruitment, Training, and Placement of Personnel.

Discussion Leader: Harry M. Carey, Executive Director, Greater Boston Community Fund, Boston.

Group Discussion 2. Board Membership and Functions of Board Membership.

Discussion Leader: Violet Sieder, Associate, Health and Welfare Planning Department, Community Chests and Councils, New York City.

Group Meeting 3. How a Council Relates Itself to Economic Planning.

1. Economic Planning as It Relates to the Total Community Plan.
Guy Greer, Editorial Board, *Fortune*, New York City.

2. Integration of Cultural and Educational Planning in the Total Community Plan.
Mrs. Jacob E. Eckel, Board Member, Council of Social Agencies; Chairman, Cultural and Educational Committee, Post War Planning Council.

3. Integration of Health, Welfare, and Recreational Planning in the Total Community Plan.
Scotia R. Ballard, Executive Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, Syracuse, N. Y.

Group Meeting 4. Information and Referral Services.

1. Getting People and Services Together.
Merrill Krughoff, Associate, Health and Welfare Planning Department, Community Chests and Councils, New York City.

2. Use of Community Resources by a Specific Industry.
Ralph C. Bennett, Executive Secretary, Family and Children's Bureau, Columbus, Ohio.

3. Special Problems in War Communities.

Morris Zelditch, Director, War Service Program, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City.

Group Meeting 5. Community Organization in War Communities.

Clarence King, Executive Secretary, American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service; Professor of Social Work, New York School of Social Work, New York City.

Group Meeting 6. The Consumer Takes Community Responsibility for a Wartime Program.

1. Wartime Consumers' Activities.

Caroline F. Ware, Professor of History and Social Science, Howard University, Washington, D. C. See Index.

2. How the Community Organizes for Compliance with Price Control and Rationing.

Ernestine Friedman, Consumer Relations Officer, Group Services Branch, Office of Price Administration, Washington, D. C.

Friday, May 26—

Group Meeting 1.

1. Community Organization in Rural Areas.

2. State War Chest Experience in Rural Areas.

Howard Amerman, Associate Director, Illinois State War Chest, Chicago. See Index.

Group Meeting 2. Community Organization in Suburban Areas.

Harry M. Carey, Executive Director, Greater Boston Community Fund, Boston.

Discussant:

Mrs. Linn Brandenburg, Assistant Director, Community Fund, Chicago.

Saturday, May 27—Organizing the Community for Interracial Coöperation.

1. Relieving Interracial Tensions.

D. R. Sharpe, Executive Secretary, Mayor's Committee on Democratic Practices, Cleveland.

2. Techniques in Organizing the Community.

Harold A. Lett, Executive Secretary, New Jersey Urban League, Newark, N. J. See Index.

SOCIAL ACTION

Monday, May 22—Social Action as a Method.

1. Methods of Social Action in a Private Family Agency.

Sydney Maslen, Secretary, Committee on Housing, Community

Service Society, New York City; Chairman, National Committee of Housing Associations, New York City. See Index.

2. Social Action and Professional Education for Social Work.
Marion Hathway, Professor of Public Welfare, School of Applied Social Sciences, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh. See Index.

Tuesday, May 23—Labor and Social Work.

1. Common Goals.
Clarence King, Executive Secretary, American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service; Professor of Social Work, New York School of Social Work, New York City.
2. Implementation through Political Action.
A. A. Hartwell, International Representative, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, New York City.

Wednesday, May 24—Full Employment after the War.

Alvin H. Hansen, Littauer Professor of Economics, Harvard University; Special Economic Adviser to the Board of Governors, Federal Reserve System, Cambridge, Mass.

Discussant:

J. Raymond Walsh, Director, Department of Education and Research, Congress of Industrial Organizations, Washington, D. C.

Thursday, May 25—(Joint Session with Section V—Public Welfare Administration.) A Health Program for the Nation.

Michael M. Davis, Chairman, Committee on Research in Medical Economics, New York City. See Index.

Discussants:

George F. Addes, International Secretary-Treasurer, International Union United Automobile, Aircraft, Agricultural Implement Workers of America, Detroit.

William A. Sommerfield, M.D., Academy of Medicine, Cleveland.

Friday, May 26—Equality of Opportunity.

1. Next Steps Next in Racial Advancement.
Lester B. Granger, Executive Secretary, National Urban League, New York City. See Index.
2. Now Is the Time.
Frederick N. Myers, Vice President, National Maritime Union, New York City.

Saturday, May 27—Protection for the Consumer.

1. The Consumer and the Farmer.
Oliver E. Peterson, Director of Group and Educational Services, Office of Price Administration, Washington, D. C.

2. The Consumer and Labor.

Dorothy M. Hayes, Executive Secretary, Social Service Employees' Union, Local 19, United Office and Professional Workers of America, New York City.

PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

Monday, May 22—Needed Amendments to the Social Security Act and Their Achievement.

James E. Murray, Senator from Montana, United States Senate, Washington, D. C.; co-author, Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill. See Index.

Discussant:

Elizabeth S. Magee, General Secretary, National Consumers' League, Cleveland.

Tuesday, May 23—

Group Meeting 1. A Planned Program for Services in Departments of Public Welfare.

1. Resource Development for Unmet Needs.

Louis Towley, Assistant Chief, County Services Unit, Minnesota Department of Public Welfare, St. Paul, Minn.

2. A Practical View of Case Work Possibilities in the Public Assistance Programs.

Helen Hayden, Resident Director, Kansas City Unit, Washington University School of Social Work, Kansas City, Mo. See Index.

Discussant:

Brenda Fischer, Case Supervisor, County Department of Public Welfare, Las Vegas, N. Mex.

Group Meeting 2. The Validity of Test Techniques in Appraising Personnel Potentialities.

1. Evaluation of Test Techniques in Placement in the Armed Forces.

Lieutenant Colonel Marion Richardson, Chief, Personnel Research Section, Classification and Replacement Branch, Office of the Adjutant General, New York City.

2. A Testing Program as a Tool in Vocational Guidance and Student Counseling.

Anne Fenlason, Associate Professor, Graduate School of Social Work, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis.

3. Problems and Progress in Testing for the Public Welfare Services.

Frank De Vyver, Merit System Supervisor, Merit System Council, Durham, N. C.

Group Meeting 3. The Development of Constructive Relationships through Field Service in Public Welfare Agencies.

1. The Development of Constructive Federal-State Relationships.
From the State Viewpoint:
Paul Benner, Director of Public Assistance, State Department of Social Welfare, Topeka, Kans. See Index.
From the Federal Viewpoint:
Edith Foster, Regional Representative, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Minneapolis. See Index.
2. The Job of the Field Supervisor in a State Department of Public Welfare.
Eunice Minton, Director, Department of Social Service, State Welfare Board, Jacksonville, Fla.

Group Meeting 4. (Joint Session with the Committee on Migration.)

1. What Shall We Do with Our Residence and Settlement Laws?
Myron Falk, Director, Civilian War Services, Eighth Civilian Defense Region, Dallas, Texas.
2. An Experiment in Abolishing the Settlement Laws.
Glen Leet, Director, Department of Social Welfare, Providence, Rhode Island. See Index.

Discussant:

Edith Abbott, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago.

Group Meeting 5. The Place of the County Departments of Public Welfare in Meeting State-wide Needs.

1. The Contribution of the Local Unit to State Agency Policy and Practice.
Margaret Steel Moss, Executive Director, Dauphin County Board of Assistance, Harrisburg, Pa.
2. Increasing Public Understanding and Support of the Public Welfare Programs through the Local Units.
Joseph Baldwin, Director, Lake County Department of Public Welfare, Gary, Ind.

Group Meeting 6. Methods of Increasing Competence in Public Welfare Agencies.

1. The Role of the State Administrator in Increasing Staff Competence.
F. F. Fauri, Acting Director, Social Welfare Commission, Lansing, Mich.
2. The Learning Process in Agency Settings.
Thomasine Hendricks, Consultant, Division of Technical Train-

ing, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D. C. See Index.

3. Evaluation of the Responsibility of the Schools of Social Work for Training for the Public Welfare Services.

Grace Browning, Associate Professor of Public Welfare, School of Applied Social Sciences, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh. See Index.

Wednesday, May 24—The Need for Social Work Concepts and Methods in the Postwar World.

Jane M. Hoey, Director, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C. See Index.

Discussant:

Ruth Lewis, Associate Professor of Medical Social Work, Washington University, St. Louis, Mo.

Thursday, May 25—

9:00 A.M.-10:30 A.M.: (Joint Session with Section IV—Social Action.)
A Health Program for the Nation.

11:00 A.M.-12:30 P.M.: Selected Problems in Social and Vocational Planning.

1. Plans for Vocational Rehabilitation under the Barden-La Follette Act.

Michael Shortley, Director, Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C. See Index.

2. Problems in the Relocation and Rehabilitation of Our Japanese-American Citizens.

Selene Gifford, Director, Welfare Section, War Relocation Authority, Washington, D. C.

3. The Role of the Public Welfare Agency in the Rehabilitative Aspects of the Social Protection Program.

Arthur E. Fink, Associate Director, Social Protection Division, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C. See Index.

Friday, May 26—Selected Problems in Postwar Planning.

1. Civil Re-establishment Now and in the Postwar Period.

Eveline Burns, Consultant on Social Security, National Planning Association, Washington, D. C.

2. Plans of State and Local Departments of Public Welfare for the Postwar Period.

Harry O. Page, Commissioner, Department of Health and Welfare, Augusta, Maine.

Saturday, May 27—Price Control as a Factor in Social Planning.

1. The Place of Price Control in Economic and Social Stability.
Don D. Humphrey, Chief, Price Analysis and Review Branch,
Office of Price Administration, Washington, D. C. See Index.
2. The Worker-Consumer Stake in Price Control as Related to Social Planning.
Don Montgomery, Consumer Council, United Automobile Workers
of America, Washington, D. C.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES

COMMITTEE ON MIGRATION

Monday, May 22—The Moving Scene: Migration Today.

1. The Federal Scene.
Robert K. Lamb, Legislative Representative, United Steel Workers
of America, Washington, D. C.
2. The State Scene.
Marietta Stevenson, Professor of Social Administration, University
of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.
3. The Local Scene.
Jane Hoey, Director, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security
Board, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C.

Tuesday, May 23—

9:00 A.M.-10:30 A.M.: Action Needed Now.

1. Congress Called to Action.
George H. Bender, Congressman-at-large from Ohio, United States
House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.
2. Shall the Migration Platform Stand?
Philip E. Ryan, Director, Civilian Relief, Insular and Foreign
Operations, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C.

11:00 A.M.-12:30 P.M.: (Joint Session with Section V—Public Welfare Administration.) What Shall We Do with Our Settlement and Residence Laws?

Thursday, May 25—International Migration: Displaced People.

1. What the Problems Are.
Pierre Waelbroeck, Assistant Director, International Labor Office,
Montreal, Canada. See Index.
2. UNRRA's Task for Displaced Persons as Viewed by a Social Worker.
Mary E. Hurlbutt, Assistant Professor of Social Work, New York
School of Social Work, New York City. See Index.

COMMITTEE ON PROBLEMS OF YOUTH

Wednesday, May 24—Refocusing on Juvenile Delinquency.

1. Thinking Straight about Juvenile Delinquency.
Paul W. Alexander, Judge, Juvenile Court, Toledo, Ohio.
2. Public Opinion on Juvenile Delinquency.
Fritz Redl, Associate Professor of Group Work, Wayne University, Detroit.
3. Law and Welfare.
Arthur Fink, Division of Social Protection, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C.

Thursday, May 25—Preparing for the Postwar Impact upon Youth.

1. Prospects for Youth in Competing for Jobs.
Ewan Clague, Director, Bureau of Employment Security, Social Security Board, Washington, D. C.
2. A Work Training Program Financed Federally, but Controlled and Administered Locally.
Paul T. Rankin, Member, Educational Policies Commission; Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Detroit.

Friday, May 26—

Group Meeting 1. The Potentialities of a School Work Program.

F. B. Knight, Director, Division of Education and Applied Psychology, Purdue University, Lafayette, Ind.

Discussion Leader: Paul K. Weinandy, Director, Alta Social Settlement, Cleveland.

Group Meeting 2. The Sexual Histories of Teen-Agers.

Alfred C. Kinsey, Professor of Biology, Indiana University, Bloomington, Ind.; Director of Research in Human Sex Behavior under the auspices of the Medical Division of the Rockefeller Foundation.
Discussion Leader: Fritz Redl, Associate Professor of Group Work, Wayne University, Detroit.

Group Meeting 3. Particular Problems in Teen-Age Hangouts.

Hazel Osborn, Young Women's Christian Association, Detroit, Mich.
See Index.

Discussion Leader: Jeanne Holmes Barnes, Council of Social Agencies, Philadelphia.

COMMITTEE ON SOCIAL HYGIENE

Monday, May 22—Social Protection and Rehabilitation.

1. Sex Delinquency as a Social Hazard.
Eliot Ness, Director, Social Protection Division, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C. See Index.

2. Purposes and Methods of Individual Treatment.

Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.

Discussion Leader: Lucia Murchison, Navy Relief Society, Washington, D. C.

Tuesday, May 23—Social Protection Laws and Enforcement.

1. The Policewoman's Role in Social Protection.

Eleanore L. Hutzler, Chief of Women's Division, Department of Police, Detroit, Mich.

2. Social Worker, What Are You Doing about Better Laws and Enforcement?

Bascom Johnson, Director, Legal and Protective Activities, American Social Hygiene Association, Dallas, Texas.

Discussion Leader: Henrietta Additon, Superintendent, Westfield State Farm, Bedford Hills, New York; Department of Correction, New York State.

AMERICAN RED CROSS

Friday, May 26—War Programs of the American Red Cross.

1. American Red Cross Services to the Armed Forces.

Robert E. Bondy, Administrator, Services to the Armed Forces, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C. See Index.

2. American Red Cross Relief to Prisoners of War and Civilian War Victims.

Philip E. Ryan, Director, Civilian Relief, Insular and Foreign Operations, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C. See Index.

3. Other War-related Activities of the American Red Cross.

James T. Nicholson, Vice Chairman, American Red Cross, Washington, D. C. See Index.

NATIONAL WAR FUND

Monday, May 22—National War Fund.

1. Budgeting War Relief and Servicemen's Agencies.

Elliott Jensen, Budget Secretary, National War Fund, New York City.

2. State War Fund Administration and Problems.

Warren Pierce, Executive Director, Michigan State War Fund, Lansing, Mich.

Discussant:

Virgil Martin, Director, Special Services Division, National War Fund, New York City.

OFFICE OF CIVILIAN DEFENSE

Thursday, May 25—Community Organization under Public Auspices.

1. Community Organization under Public Auspices.

Thomas Devine, Assistant Director in Charge of Civilian War Services, United States Office of Civilian Defense, Washington, D. C. See Index.

2. From a State Viewpoint.

Herschel Nisonger, Professor of Education, Ohio State University; Director of Training, Ohio State Council of Defense, Columbus, Ohio. See Index.

3. From a Community Viewpoint.

C. Ellis Henican, Chairman of the Civilian War Services Board, New Orleans, La. See Index.

Discussion Leader: Roy Sorenson, Associate General Secretary, National Council, Young Men's Christian Association; Chairman, National Office of Civilian Defense Youth Advisory Committee, Chicago.

UNITED SEAMEN'S SERVICE

Friday, May 26—United Seamen's Service.

1. The Organization, Purpose, and Program of the United Seamen's Service.

Douglas P. Falconer, Executive Director, United Seamen's Service, New York City. See Index.

2. The Combined Medical Program of United Seamen's Service and the Recruitment and Manning Organization of the War Shipping Administration, for Merchant Seamen.

Clifford D. Moore, M.D., Surgeon (R), Assistant Medical Director, United Seamen's Service; Executive Officer, Medical Division, Recruitment and Manning Organization, War Shipping Administration, New York City. See Index.

3. Personal Service for Seamen.

Bertha C. Reynolds, United Seamen's Service Personal Service Representative, National Maritime Union, New York City. See Index.

UNITED SERVICE ORGANIZATIONS

Tuesday, May 23—The United Service Organizations.

1. USO as an Experiment in Social Work.

Ray Johns, Director of Operations, Continental United States, United Service Organizations, New York City. See Index.

2. Social Work Implications of the USO Experience.

a. In the Case Work Field.

Margaret Creech, Director of Information of Studies, National Travelers Aid Association, New York City. See Index.

b. In the Group Work Field.

Hedley S. Dimock, Coördinator, Headquarters Services, and Co-ordinator of Training, United Service Organizations, New York City. See Index.

c. In the Community Organization Field.

Louis Kraft, Executive Director, National Jewish Welfare Board, New York City. See Index.

APPENDIX B: BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1944

OFFICERS

President: Elizabeth Wisner, New Orleans

First Vice President: Stanley P. Davies, New York City

Second Vice President: Louise Cottrell, New Orleans

Third Vice President: The Rev. A. T. Jamison, Greenwood, S. C.

Treasurer: Arch Mandel, New York City

General Secretary: Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ex officio: Elizabeth Wisner, President; Stanley P. Davies, First Vice President; Louise Cottrell, Second Vice President; the Rev. A. T. Jamison, Third Vice President; Fred K. Hoehler, Past President; Arch Mandel, Treasurer, *Term expiring 1944:* Martha A. Chickering, Carmel, Calif.; Ewan Clague, Washington, D. C.; Evelyn K. Davis, Boston; Gordon Hamilton, New York City; Wayne McMillen, Chicago; Agnes Van Driel, Washington, D. C.; Gertrude Wilson, Pittsburgh. *Term expiring 1945:* Charles J. Birt, Minneapolis; Loula Dunn, Montgomery, Ala.; Martha M. Eliot, M.D., Washington, D. C.; Ruth FitzSimons, Olympia, Wash.; Lester B. Granger, New York City; Kenneth L. M. Pray, Philadelphia; George L. Warren, Washington, D. C. *Term expiring 1946:* Mildred Arnold, Washington, D. C.; Harry M. Carey, Boston; Lucy P. Carner, Chicago; Elizabeth Cosgrove, Washington, D. C.; Ralph G. Hurlin, New York City; Leonard W. Mayo, Cleveland; Frances Taussig, New York City

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expiring 1945: Florence R. Day, Northampton, Mass.; Edgar M. Gerlach, Lewisburg, Pa.; Frank Hertel, Minneapolis; Louis E. Hosch, Chicago; Ruth E. Lewis, St. Louis; Margaret Steel Moss, Harrisburg, Pa. *Term expiring 1946:* Ralph Bennett, Columbus, Ohio; Samuel Gerson, St. Louis; Frank Z. Glick, Lincoln, Nebr.; Anna E. King, New York City; Robert F. Nelson, Indianapolis; Ruth Smalley, Pittsburgh; Anna D. Ward, Baltimore

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SECTION V. PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

Chairman: Phyllis Osborn, Kansas City, Mo.

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APPENDIX C: BUSINESS ORGANIZATION OF THE CONFERENCE FOR 1945

OFFICERS

President: Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Trenton, N. J.

First Vice President: Linton B. Swift, New York City

Second Vice President: Lea D. Taylor, Chicago

Third Vice President: Anita J. Faatz, Baltimore

Treasurer: Arch Mandel, New York City

General Secretary: Howard R. Knight, Columbus, Ohio

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Ex officio: Ellen C. Potter, M.D., President; Linton B. Swift, First Vice President; Lea D. Taylor, Second Vice President; Anita J. Faatz, Third Vice President; Elizabeth Wisner, Past President; Arch Mandel, Treasurer. *Term expiring 1945:* Charles J. Birt, Minneapolis; Loula Dunn, Montgomery, Ala.; Martha M. Eliot, M.D., Washington, D. C.; Ruth FitzSimons, Olympia, Wash.; Lester B. Granger, New York City; Kenneth L. M. Pray, Philadelphia; George L. Warren, Washington, D. C. *Term expiring 1946:* Mildred Arnold, Washington, D. C.; Harry M. Carey, Boston; Lucy P. Carner, Chicago; Elizabeth Cosgrove, Washington, D. C.; Ralph G. Hurlin, New York City; Leonard W. Mayo, Cleveland; Frances Taussig, New York City. *Term expiring 1947:* Maude T. Barrett, Baton Rouge, La.; Harry M. Cassidy, Berkeley, Calif.; Rudolph T. Danstedt, Pittsburgh; Mary B. Holsinger, Albany, N. Y.; Helen R. Jeter, Bethesda, Md.; Lillian J. Johnson, Seattle, Wash.; Elizabeth S. Magee, Cleveland

CONFERENCE COMMITTEES

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more. *Term expiring 1947*: Rollo Barnes, Boston; Fern L. Chamberlain, Pierre, S. D.; the Rev. John J. Donovan, New York City; Genevieve Gabower, Washington, D. C.; Beth Muller, Chicago; Edith Dumont Smith, Omaha, Nebr.; Emil M. Sunley, Morgantown, W. Va.

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COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

Major Chester R. Brown, New York City, Chairman. Mrs. William Jacquette, Media, Pa.; Violet Greenhill, Austin, Texas

COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE

Herbert L. Willett, Jr., Washington, D. C., Chairman. *Term expiring 1945*: Vilona P. Cutler, Oklahoma City, Okla.; Agnes S. Donaldson, Lincoln, Nebr.; Lynn D. Mowat, Los Angeles; Randel Shake, Indianapolis; Jean Sinnock, Denver; Herbert L. Willett, Jr., Washington, D. C. *Term expiring 1946*: William H. Bartlett, San Antonio, Texas; Grace A. Browning, Pittsburgh; Norman B. Finch, Toledo, Ohio; Albert H. Jewell, Kansas City, Mo.; Oscar W. Kuolt, Rochester, N. Y.; Claire McCarthy, Richmond, Va.; Mary B. Stotsenburg, Louisville, Ky. *Term expiring 1947*: Lucia J. Bing, Columbus, Ohio; Marie Duffin, New York City; Marcel Kovarsky, New York City; Ralph J. Reed, Portland, Oreg.; Harold F. Strong, Dobbs Ferry, N. Y.; Louis Towley, St. Paul, Minn.; Creed Ward, Cleveland

ORGANIZATION OF SECTIONS

SECTION I. SOCIAL CASE WORK

Chairman: Marian M. Wyman, Boston

Vice Chairman: Edith Grubb Ross, Baton Rouge, La.

Term expiring 1945: Aleta Brownlee, San Francisco; Ruth Gartland, Pittsburgh; Gordon Hamilton, New York City; Florence Hollis, New York City; Ella W. Reed, Chicago. *Term expiring 1946*: Amy W. Greene, Baltimore; Isabel Burns Lindsay, Washington, D. C.; Lena Parrott, Augusta, Maine; Ethel Verry, Chicago; Henry L. Zucker, Cleveland. *Term expiring 1947*: Rae Carp, Cleveland; Lucile L. Chamberlin, Wash-

ington, D. C.; Richard Chappell, Washington, D. C.; Nelle Lane Gardner, Pittsburgh; Ann P. Halliday, Seattle; Lucile Ahnawake Hastings, Chicago

SECTION II. SOCIAL GROUP WORK

Chairman: Chester Bower, Houston, Texas

Vice Chairman: Emily West, Minneapolis

Term expiring 1945: Ray Johns, New York City; Alma Elizabeth Johnston, Richmond, Va.; Clara A. Kaiser, New York City; Helen Rowe, Washington, D. C.; Dorothea Spellman, Pittsburgh. *Term expiring 1946:* William H. Bartlett, San Antonio, Texas; Laura M. McKeen, Santa Barbara, Calif.; Helen U. Phillips, Philadelphia; Mrs. Paul Rittenhouse, New York City; Douglas E. H. Williams, Ann Arbor, Mich. *Term expiring 1947:* Elizabeth Baker, Richmond, Va.; Louise Parrett, Cochran, New York City; Leah K. Dickinson, Topaz, Utah; Fritz Redl, Detroit; Walter L. Stone, Nashville, Tenn.

SECTION III. COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Chairman: Louise A. Root, Milwaukee

Vice Chairman: Clarence King, New York City

Term expiring 1945: James T. Brunot, Washington, D. C.; Ruth FitzSimons, Olympia, Wash.; Lester B. Granger, New York City; Philip E. Ryan, Washington, D. C. *Term expiring 1946:* Linn Brandenburg, Chicago; Louis W. Horne, Lincoln, Nebr.; Virginia Howlett, Philadelphia; Louise A. Root, Milwaukee; T. Lester Swander, San Antonio, Texas. *Term expiring 1947:* Whitcomb H. Allen, San Antonio, Texas; Lorne W. Bell, Honolulu, Hawaii; Mrs. W. T. Bost, Raleigh, N. C.; Eva Hance, San Francisco; Mrs. R. A. Thorndike, Bar Harbor, Maine

SECTION IV. SOCIAL ACTION

Chairman: Donald S. Howard, New York City

Vice Chairman: Evelyn Hersey, Philadelphia

Term expiring 1945: Ewan Clague, Washington, D. C.; Myron Falk, Baton Rouge, La.; Elizabeth S. Magee, Cleveland; Josephine Roche, Denver; J. Raymond Walsh, Washington, D. C. *Term expiring 1946:* Donald S. Howard, New York City; Major Alvin R. Guyler, Washington, D. C.; Edward M. Kahn, Atlanta, Ga.; Robert H. MacRae, Detroit; George D. Nickel, Los Angeles. *Term expiring 1947:* Helen A. Brown, Louisville, Ky.; Eveline M. Burns, Washington, D. C.; Edward S. Lewis, New York City; Alton A. Linford, Boston; Bertha C. Reynolds, New York City

SECTION V. PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

Chairman: William Haber, Washington, D. C.

Vice Chairman: Phoebe Bannister, San Francisco

Term expiring 1945: Robert E. Bondy, Washington, D. C.; William W. Burke, St. Louis; E. R. Goudy, Portland, Oreg.; Martha E. Phillips, Chicago; Louis Towley, St. Paul, Minn. *Term expiring 1946:* Amy B. Edwards, Vancouver, B. C., Canada; John F. Hall, Seattle; A. E. Howell, Boston; J. Milton Patterson, Baltimore; James Hoge Ricks, Richmond, Va. *Term expiring 1947:* Isabel M. Devine, Portland, Oreg.; Selene Gifford, Alexandria, Va.; May O. Hankins, Richmond, Va.; Maria P. Rahn, Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico; Nadia Thomas, Kansas City, Mo.

APPENDIX D: BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

MINUTES

Thursday, May 25, 4:00 P.M.—Annual Business Meeting

A quorum being present the President, Miss Wisner, called the meeting to order. The attendance was about one hundred and fifty.

The Treasurer, Arch Mandel, read the Treasurer's report as follows:

A Treasurer's report at this time in the fiscal year can at best be only an interim report showing the status of our financial affairs at the end of the first third of our financial year.

As of April 30, 1944, all bills were paid to date, and the Conference had a cash balance in the bank of \$8,749.76. Our total cash income, including the cash balances carried over from last year, was \$28,390.41. Of this, \$20,604.03 represents 1944 cash income out of a total of \$38,000 estimated for the year in the operating account. Total expenditures, including the payment of the bill for the 1943 *Proceedings*, have been \$19,640.65.

It is impossible at this time to make any report on the Annual Meeting Account because that is still before us, both as to receipts and expenditures.

The attached six statements give the details, both on a cash and on a budget basis, of the financial operations of the first four months. A recapitulation and forecast show that we should have a total of actual plus estimated income for the year of over \$53,000 and total actual and estimated expenditures for the same period of over \$49,000.

However, the difference of a little over \$4,000 cannot be counted on as a surplus. Subsequent to the adoption of the budget it was found necessary to rent the Public Auditorium for the week of the Conference. This will add some \$2,500 to the expense, which is not provided for in the budget. There will be some other expenditures, due to the emergency situation in which we are working, that may add to the cost of our Annual Meeting. To help balance these increased costs however, there is an indication as this is written that the attendance, and hence the income, from the Annual Meeting, will also exceed our original estimate.

The Conference is in sound financial condition at the present time, and every effort will be made to keep it so. The loyal support of members through this difficult period is greatly appreciated.

Respectfully submitted

ARCH MANDEL
Treasurer

Upon motion duly made and seconded it was voted to approve the report of the Treasurer.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
RECAPITULATION AND FORECAST

Receipts

Total Balance and Receipts, January 1 to April 30, 1944:

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|
| Operating Account..... | \$27,225.54 |
| Annual Meeting Account..... | 1,164.87 |

| | |
|----------------------------|-------------|
| Total actual receipts..... | \$28,390.41 |
|----------------------------|-------------|

Estimated Budget Receipts, May 1 to December 31, 1944:

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|
| Operating Account..... | \$17,395.97 |
| Annual Meeting Account..... | 7,750.00 |

| | |
|-------------------------------|-------------|
| Total estimated receipts..... | \$25,145.97 |
|-------------------------------|-------------|

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Total Actual and Estimated Receipts..... | \$53,536.38 |
|--|-------------|

Expenditures

Total Expenditures, January 1 to April 30, 1944:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| Operating Account..... | \$12,756.90 |
| Annual Meeting Account..... | 1,928.55 |
| 1943 <i>Proceedings</i> Bill..... | 4,955.20 |

| | |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| Total expenditures..... | \$19,640.65 |
|-------------------------|-------------|

Estimated Budget Expenditures, May 1 to December 31, 1944:

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|
| Operating Account..... | \$23,873.10 |
| Annual Meeting Account..... | 5,871.45 |

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| Total estimated expenditures..... | \$29,744.55 |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|

| | |
|---|-------------|
| Total Expenditures and Estimated Budget Expenditures..... | \$49,385.20 |
|---|-------------|

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Operating Account, January-April, 1944

Operating balance, January 1..... \$ 7,736.38

Receipts, Budget:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|
| Memberships..... | \$19,771.82 |
| Sales of <i>Bulletin</i> | 41.50 |
| Sales of <i>Proceedings</i> | 346.12 |
| Refunds..... | 99.84 |
| Contributions..... | 341.00 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 3.75 |

Total receipts, Operating Account..... \$20,604.03

Total receipts, Annual Meeting Account..... 50.00

Total receipts..... \$20,654.03

Total Receipts and Balance..... \$28,390.41

Expenditures, Budget:

| | |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| Salaries..... | \$ 7,496.44 |
| Travel..... | 1,687.21 |
| Printing..... | 1,558.62 |
| Postage..... | 1,018.72 |
| Supplies..... | 90.30 |
| Telephone and telegraph..... | 267.58 |
| Rent..... | 400.00 |
| Equipment and repair..... | 65.01 |
| Miscellaneous..... | 173.02 |

Total expenditures, Operating Account..... \$12,756.90

Total expenditures, Annual Meeting Account..... 1,928.55

Bill for 1943 *Proceedings*..... 4,955.20

Total expenditures..... \$19,640.65

Balance..... \$ 8,749.76

Functional Distribution of Expenditures:

| | |
|-----------------------------|-------------|
| General administration..... | \$ 6,702.69 |
| Membership promotion..... | ... |
| Program Committee..... | 592.52 |
| <i>Proceedings</i> | 3.45 |
| <i>Bulletin</i> | 240.17 |
| Office operation..... | 5,045.05 |
| Other..... | 173.02 |

Total..... \$12,756.90

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
FINANCIAL STATEMENT

Annual Meeting Account, January-April, 1944

Operating Balance, January 1 \$1,114.87

Receipts, Budget:

| | |
|---------------------------|-------|
| Attendance fees | ... |
| Booths | 50.00 |
| Printing | ... |
| Miscellaneous | ... |
| Refunds | ... |

| | |
|--|--------|
| Total receipts | 50.00 |
| Transferred from Operating Account | 763.68 |

Total receipts and transfer \$ 813.68

Total receipts, transfer, and balance \$1,928.55

Expenditures, Budget:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--------|
| Salaries | \$... |
| Travel | 946.18 |
| Printing | 387.00 |
| Postage | 45.37 |
| Supplies | ... |
| Telephone and telegraph | ... |
| Rent | 250.00 |
| Miscellaneous | 300.00 |

Total expenditures \$1,928.55

Balance

Functional Distribution of Expenditures:

| | |
|---|-----------|
| General administration | \$ 991.55 |
| Publicity and press service | 387.00 |
| Booths | ... |
| Program and daily <i>Bulletin</i> | ... |
| Rent | 250.00 |
| Miscellaneous | 300.00 |

Total \$1,928.55

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
BUDGET STATEMENT

Operating Account, January 1-April 30, 1944

(Contains Only Net Receipts and Expenditures Properly
Credited and Charged to the 1944 Budget)

| <i>Receipts:</i> | <i>Budget Estimate</i> | <i>Budget Receipts</i> | <i>Budget Difference</i> |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Memberships | \$33,000.00 | \$19,771.82 | \$13,228.18 |
| Attendance fees | 2,500.00 | ... | 2,500.00 |
| Miscellaneous | 2,500.00 | 832.21 | 1,667.79 |
| Total | \$38,000.00 | \$20,604.03 | \$17,395.97 |
| <i>Expenditures:</i> | <i>Allowed</i> | <i>Expended</i> | <i>Balance</i> |
| Salaries | \$18,980.00 | \$ 7,496.44 | \$11,483.56 |
| Travel | 3,150.00 | 1,687.21 | 1,462.79 |
| Printing | 9,200.00 | 1,558.62 | 7,641.38 |
| Postage | 1,850.00 | 1,018.72 | 831.28 |
| Supplies | 600.00 | 90.30 | 509.70 |
| Telephone and telegraph | 500.00 | 267.58 | 232.42 |
| Rent | 1,200.00 | 400.00 | 800.00 |
| Equipment and repair | 400.00 | 65.01 | 334.99 |
| Miscellaneous | 750.00 | 173.02 | 576.98 |
| Total | \$36,630.00 | \$12,756.90 | \$23,873.10 |
| <i>Functional Distribution of Expenditures:</i> | | | |
| General administration | \$14,800.00 | \$ 6,702.69 | \$ 8,097.31 |
| Membership promotion | ... | ... | ... |
| Program Committee | 1,000.00 | 592.52 | 407.48 |
| Proceedings | 6,000.00 | 3.45 | 5,996.55 |
| Bulletin | 2,500.00 | 240.17 | 2,259.83 |
| Office operation | 11,580.00 | 5,045.05 | 6,534.95 |
| Other | 750.00 | 173.02 | 576.98 |
| Total | \$36,630.00 | \$12,756.90 | \$23,873.10 |

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
BUDGET STATEMENT

Annual Meeting Account, January 1–April 30, 1944

(Contains Only all Net Items of Receipts and Expenditures
Properly Charged to the 1944 Annual Meeting Account)

| <i>Receipts:</i> | <i>Budget Estimate</i> | <i>Budget Receipts</i> | <i>Budget Difference</i> |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Attendance fees | \$4,000.00 | \$. . . | \$4,000.00 |
| Booths | 2,000.00 | 50.00 | 1,950.00 |
| Printing | 1,200.00 | . . . | 1,200.00 |
| Miscellaneous | 600.00 | . . . | 600.00 |
| Total | \$7,800.00 | \$ 50.00 | \$7,750.00 |
| <i>Expenditures:</i> | <i>Allowed</i> | <i>Expended</i> | <i>Balance</i> |
| Salaries | \$ 350.00 | \$. . . | \$ 350.00 |
| Travel | 2,000.00 | 946.18 | 1,053.82 |
| Printing | 2,150.00 | 387.00 | 1,763.00 |
| Postage | 100.00 | 45.37 | 54.63 |
| Supplies and equipment | 1,500.00 | . . . | 1,500.00 |
| Telephone and telegraph | 200.00 | . . . | 200.00 |
| Rent | 500.00 | 250.00 | 250.00 |
| Miscellaneous | 1,000.00 | 300.00 | 700.00 |
| Total | \$7,800.00 | \$1,928.55 | \$5,871.45 |
| <i>Functional Distribution of Expenditures:</i> | | | |
| General administration | \$2,350.00 | \$ 991.55 | \$1,358.45 |
| Publicity and press service | 1,100.00 | 387.00 | 713.00 |
| Booths | 1,200.00 | . . . | 1,200.00 |
| Program and daily <i>Bulletin</i> | 1,650.00 | . . . | 1,650.00 |
| Rent | 500.00 | 250.00 | 250.00 |
| Other | 1,000.00 | 300.00 | 700.00 |
| Total | \$7,800.00 | \$1,928.55 | \$5,871.45 |

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
STATUS OF MEMBERSHIP

April 30, 1944

| | <i>Members</i> | <i>\$3.00</i> | <i>\$5.00</i> | <i>\$10.00</i> | <i>\$25.00</i> | <i>Total</i> |
|--------------------------|----------------|---------------|---------------|----------------|----------------|--------------|
| Active: | | | | | | |
| First quarter | 214 | 403 | 233 | 141 | 991 | |
| Second quarter | 457 | 991 | 220 | 107 | 1,775 | |
| Third quarter | 13 | 86 | 33 | 27 | 159 | |
| Fourth quarter | 60 | 133 | 128 | 90 | 411 | |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| Total | 744 | 1,613 | 614 | 365 | 3,336 | |
| Delinquent: | | | | | | |
| First quarter | 218 | 123 | 7 | 39 | 387 | |
| Second quarter | 527 | 756 | 59 | 22 | 1,364 | |
| Third quarter | 5 | 10 | 1 | 1 | 17 | |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| Total | 750 | 889 | 67 | 62 | 1,768 | |
| Grand Total | 1,494 | 2,502 | 681 | 427 | 5,104 | |
| New: | | | | | | |
| First quarter | 14 | 33 | 8 | 5 | 60 | |
| Second quarter | 22 | 58 | 5 | 1 | 86 | |
| Third quarter | 0 | 16 | 2 | 0 | 18 | |
| Fourth quarter | 19 | 37 | 7 | 5 | 68 | |
| | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> | <hr/> |
| Total | 55 | 144 | 22 | 11 | 232 | |

The report of the Committee on Nominations was called for and Malcolm Nichols, chairman, presented the report. The nominations for Section Committee members and officers were posted on the bulletin board and published in the July *Bulletin*. The Committee report is as follows:

The Committee on Nominations respectfully submits the following nominations for office in the National Conference of Social Work for election at the 1945 Annual Meeting:

President: Kenneth L. M. Pray, Director, Pennsylvania School of Social Work, Philadelphia; *First Vice President:* Arlien Johnson, Dean, Graduate School of Social Work, University of Southern California, Los Angeles; *Second Vice President:* Paul T. Beisser, Secretary and General Manager, Children's Aid Society, St. Louis Provident Association, St. Louis; *Third Vice President:* Sanford Bates, Commissioner, State Executive Department, Board of Parole, New York City.

Members of the Executive Committee: Seven to be elected. Elsa Castendyck, Director, Child Guidance Division, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.; Stanley P. Davies, Executive Director, Community Service Society of New York, New York City; Mrs. Edwin Eells, Executive Director, Sunset Camp Service League, Chicago; Marjory Elkus, Executive Director, Columbia Foundation, San Francisco; E. Marguerite Gane, Executive Secretary, Children's Aid Society and Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, Buffalo, N. Y.; Ruth Gartland, Professor of Social Case Work, School of Applied Social Sciences, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh; Helen W. Hanchette, General Secretary, Cleveland Associated Charities, Cleveland; A. A. Heckman, General Secretary, Family Service of St. Paul, St. Paul, Minn.; Robert P. Lane, Executive Director, Welfare Council of New York City, New York City; Frederick Moran, Executive Director, Division of Parole, Albany, N. Y.; Ralph Ormsby, Regional Field Secretary, North Atlantic Region, Family Welfare Association of America, Albany, N. Y.; George Rabinoff, Associate Executive Director, Jewish Charities, Chicago; Wilma Walker, Instructor, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago; Walter W. Whitson, Superintendent, Family Service Bureau, Houston, Texas

Members of the Committee on Nominations: Seven to be elected. Harriett M. Bartlett, Educational Director, Social Service Department, Massachusetts General Hospital, Cambridge, Mass.; Bernice Bish, Executive Secretary, Family Service Association, Grand Rapids, Mich.; John J. Donovan, Director, Division of Families, Catholic Charities, New York City; Marie Duffin, Social Protection Division, Federal Security Agency, New York City; Beatrice P. Hodge, Director, Social Service Department, Touro Infirmary, New Orleans, La.; Edward Lewis, Executive Secretary, New York Urban League, New York City; Bleacher Marquette, Executive Secretary, Public Health Federation, Cincinnati, Ohio; K. L. Messenger, Director, Hillside Children's Center, Rochester, N. Y.; C. C. Ridge, Executive Secretary, Community Fund, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Bernard Roloff, Director of Public Information, Community Fund, Pittsburgh; John Slawson, Executive Secretary, Jewish Board of Guardians, New York City; Florence L. Sullivan, Child Welfare Consultant, Kansas City, Mo.; Ralph Wales, Pacific

Coast representative, National Probation Association, San Francisco; Nellie Woodward, Executive Director, Family Service Agency, San Francisco

Respectfully submitted,

MALCOLM S. NICHOLS

Chairman, Committee on Nominations

No action was required by the meeting since under the Constitution further nominations can be made by petition by any group of twenty-five members of the Conference and filed in the office prior to December 30, 1944.

The report of the Committee on Time and Place was presented by Merle MacMahon, Chairman, as follows:

The staff of the National Conference has canvassed every city which might have the necessary facilities, and at this time there are no invitations before the Committee on Time and Place.

Our Committee unanimously recommends that the whole question of the 1945 meeting of the Conference be referred to the Executive Committee with full power of determination at their fall meeting in the light of the situation as it then exists.

It is our considered opinion that if at all possible and feasible the meeting should be held in 1945.

Respectfully submitted,

MERLE MACMAHON

Chairman, Committee on Time and Place.

Upon motion duly made and seconded it was voted that the report of the Time and Place Committee be approved.

Friday, May 26, 8:30 P.M.

The report of the Committee on Tellers was called for and, in the absence of the Chairman, was presented by the Secretary, Mr. Knight:

The result of the election for section chairmen, vice-chairmen, and committee members was posted on the bulletin board and published in the July *Bulletin*. The other officers and committee members elected are as follows:

President: Ellen C. Potter, M.D., Trenton, N. J.; *First Vice President:* Linton B. Swift, New York City; *Second Vice President:* Lea D. Taylor, Chicago; *Third Vice President:* Anita J. Faatz, Baltimore

The candidates elected to the Executive Committee for a three-year term are: Maude T. Barrett, Baton Rouge, La.; Harry M. Cassidy, Berkeley, Calif.; Rudolph T. Danstedt, Pittsburgh; Mary B. Holsinger, Albany, N. Y.; Helen R. Jeter, Bethesda, Md.; Lillian J. Johnson, Seattle; Elizabeth S. Magee, Cleveland

The candidates elected to the Committee on Nominations for a three-year term are: Rollo Barnes, Boston; Fern L. Chamberlain, Pierre, S. D.; the Rev. John J. Donovan, New York City; Genevieve Gabower, Washington, D. C.; Beth Muller, Chicago; Edith Dumont Smith, Omaha, Nebr.; Emil M. Sunley, Morgantown, W. Va.

A detailed statement showing the number of votes cast for each person listed on the ballot as well as the write-in candidates, is on file in the office of the Conference.

Respectfully submitted,

MARGARET JOHNSON
Chairman, Committee on Tellers

Dr. Ellen C. Potter, the new President of the Conference, was called to the platform and spoke briefly. There being no further business, the meeting adjourned.

Saturday, May 27, 11:00 A.M.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions was called for and was presented by the Chairman, Martha Allis, of Little Rock, Arkansas. The report is as follows:

For the third time in its history, the National Conference of Social Work has held its Annual Meeting in the city of Cleveland. With the warm, stirring words of welcome from his honor, Mayor Frank J. Lausche, on the opening night, the Seventy-first Annual Meeting got off to a fine start, and has moved forward with unprecedented unity of purpose and smoothness of arrangement through the succeeding days. To have accomplished this in the face of the greatest of difficulties has been an achievement for which we are deeply indebted to the committees in charge.

President Wisner, in her opening address, struck the key-note of the Conference when she said, "Life can be richer and more secure if we make full employment a basic goal in post-war planning." Throughout the remaining sessions, this challenge has echoed and been emphasized again and again.

The Conference wishes to express appreciation to the Program Committee and to each and every speaker and participant in the various Sections for the expert knowledge and experience brought to bear upon problems of vital interest which have pressed to the forefront for solution. Although a grave seriousness has pervaded the meetings, still hope has continued to hold out its gay banner; with renewed courage we pledge ourselves afresh to the solution of the problems of readjustment which loom so large in planning for the postwar world. We wish to express appreciation to the hotels of Cleveland for their patient and courteous handling of guests and for arrangements made for meeting places, when with shortage of labor, it has been most difficult to meet these situations.

To the Convention Bureau, we wish to express the appreciation of the Conference for their handling so skillfully and courteously the registration of delegates and the information bureau, and for the time and attention given to housing the delegates in this difficult time of crowded housing conditions.

To the Music School Settlement, we register our thanks and appreciation for the delightful musical programs given each evening preceding the General Sessions.

To Miss Virginia Wing and her associates, we express appreciation for the splendid job they have done in securing local participation in the Conference.

To Mr. John Wassie, Manager of the Public Auditorium, we register appre-

ciation for the magnificent facilities and service given us for the use of meetings and for the General Sessions.

To the local press, we extend our grateful appreciation for the sympathetic interpretation of the proceedings of the sessions and for generous space given.

To the radio and broadcasting stations, for generous allotment of time in carrying our message to the vast radio audience, we are deeply grateful.

Your Committee wishes to record the pleasure and keen sense of gratification felt by members of the Conference for the tribute and recognition given our beloved Secretary, Howard R. Knight, who through twenty years has handled so efficiently the affairs of the Conference and guided so skillfully and successfully the mechanics and details of its organization. To him and to his faithful associates, we express our deep sense of gratitude.

To the city of Cleveland and to its citizens we are indebted for their gracious hospitality, and to the various social and religious agencies we express appreciation for the many courtesies extended during our stay in their city.

Respectfully submitted,

MARTHA C. ALLIS

Chairman, Committee on Resolutions

Upon motion duly made and seconded it was voted unanimously to approve the report.

The President announced that the final registration at the Seventy-first Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work was 4,820.

There being no further business the new President, Dr. Potter, adjourned the Conference to reassemble at the call of the Executive Committee.

Respectfully submitted,

HOWARD R. KNIGHT
General Secretary

APPENDIX E: CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

CONSTITUTION AS REVISED

PREAMBLE

The National Conference of Social Work exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions devoted to this cause, and to disseminate information. It does not formulate platforms.

MEMBERSHIP

An individual or organization interested in the purposes and work of the National Conference may, upon payment of the prescribed membership fee for their membership classification, become a member of the Conference. Membership in the Conference shall be of the following classes: (1) honorary members, to be selected and elected by the Executive Committee; (2) active members; (3) sustaining members; (4) institutional members; (5) contributing members; and (6) state members. State boards and commissions supporting the Conference through subscription to the *Proceedings*, the enlistment of memberships, or otherwise financially, shall be designated "state members."

OFFICERS

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second, and Third Vice Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, and a Treasurer.

The President and Vice Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference; the Assistant Secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary; and the remaining officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

COMMITTEES

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, First, Second, and Third Vice Presidents, the President of the preceding year, and the Treasurer ex officio, and twenty-one other members who shall be elected

by the Conference, seven each year for a term of three years. Vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The Executive Committee shall hold all the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The President shall be the ex officio chairman. Seven members shall constitute a quorum at all sessions of this committee.

The President shall appoint the committees named in the By-Laws and such other committees as may be ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee from time to time.

ANNUAL MEETINGS

The Conference shall meet annually at such time and place as may be determined by the preceding Conference, as provided in the By-Laws. The Executive Committee shall have authority to change the time or place of the Annual Meeting in case satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made or for other urgent reason. The first day of the annual session shall be defined to be that day on which the first regular public meeting of the Conference is held.

GENERAL SECRETARY

The General Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Conference and shall perform his duties under such rules as may be prescribed by the By-Laws or by the Executive Committee.

AMENDMENTS

This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided such amendment shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee, and published to the membership of the Conference in a regular issue of the Conference *Bulletin* together with the Executive Committee's action thereon.

BY-LAWS

I. MEMBERSHIP FEES

Membership fees for the following classifications shall be: for active members with the *Proceedings*, \$5.00; without the *Proceedings*, \$3.00; for sustaining members, \$10.00; for institutional members, \$25.00 (no individual shall be entitled to hold institutional membership, this membership being reserved solely for agencies, organizations, and institutions); for contributing members, \$25.00 or over. (Contributing memberships may be limited to individuals contributing \$25.00 or over and to such organizations as may contribute any sum in excess of the membership fee for an institutional membership and which shall elect to be classed as contributing rather than as institutional members.) Sustaining members, institutional members, and contributing members shall be entitled

to receive both the *Bulletin* and the annual volume of *Proceedings*. All members shall be entitled to receive the *Bulletin*.

II. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The President shall be chairman ex officio of both the Executive and the Program Committees. He shall appoint all committees except the Executive Committee unless otherwise ordered by the Conference or by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Conference in such banks as may be designated by the Executive Committee. He shall keep his accounts in such form as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee and pay out funds on voucher checks in form to be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited annually by a firm of certified accountants appointed annually by the Executive Committee. He shall give bond in an amount approximating the largest amount of Conference funds held at his disposal at any one time, the expense of the bond to be paid by the Conference.

The General Secretary shall have charge of the office and records of the Conference, and shall conduct its business and correspondence under the direction of the Executive Committee. He shall make arrangements for the Annual Meeting. He shall direct the activities of the Assistant Secretaries. He shall be the official editor of the volume of *Proceedings*, the periodical *Bulletin*, and other publications of the Conference. He shall develop the membership of the Conference and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee. He shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

III. FINANCE

The financial management of the Conference shall be vested in the Executive Committee. No final action involving finances shall be taken by the Conference unless the question shall have first been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee may accept donations for purposes germane to the work of the Conference, provided that no endowment funds shall be accepted in perpetuity; but all such funds must be subject to change of objects or to immediate expenditure; but such change or expenditure must be authorized by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Conference present at a regular meeting, and such proposition must first have been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

IV. COMMITTEES

1. *Committee on Nominations*.—There shall be a Committee on Nominations of twenty-one members, seven elected each year for terms of three years. The members of the Committee on Nominations shall be nominated by the Committee on Nominations and elected by the official ballot submitted by mail to all members of record of the Conference as

hereinafter provided. The President of the Conference shall within thirty days after the Annual Meeting appoint the chairman of the Committee on Nominations from members serving their third year.

In order to establish the Committee on Nominations, the Executive Committee at its first meeting following the Annual Meeting of 1941 shall elect the Committee on Nominations of twenty-one members, seven to serve terms of one year, seven to serve terms of two years, and seven to serve terms of three years. At its first meeting following the Annual Meeting of 1942, the Executive Committee shall elect seven members for terms of three years in place of the one-year members whose terms of office will have expired as provided above.

2. *Committee on Program.*—There shall be a Committee on Program which shall consist of the President-elect, the retiring President, the General Secretary, six members, two to be elected each year by the Executive Committee of the Conference for terms of three years, and the chairmen of all continuous sections.

The said committee shall have the following functions:

a) To receive suggestions from Conference members, various section, special topic, and associate group committees, social workers, social agencies, and others interested, for subjects or speakers for the National Conference program.

b) To canvass the social work field continuously, to discover material that could be used advantageously on the Conference program.

c) To determine, from year to year, various major emphases for the program as a whole.

d) To recommend to section and special topic committees subject matter or methods of presentation of subject matter for their meetings to be used at the discretion of the section and special topic committees.

e) To arrange where desirable, more than a year in advance, for material to be prepared for the conference topic committees. Where such commitments are made for section programs, such commitments are to be made only upon the request of the section involved or with its hearty coöperation and consent, and for not more than one third of the number of sessions allowed at each Annual Meeting.

f) To arrange the schedule for joint sessions of sections.

g) To have sole responsibility for the evening General Sessions programs.

h) To establish such regulations as are needed from time to time for the control of the extent of the program as a whole.

i) To provide adequate ways and means for active participation of associate groups in the construction of the program as a whole.

j) To execute such other functions from time to time as may be assigned to it by the Executive Committee or the Conference membership.

k) To arrange, with the approval of the Executive Committee, such consultations and other meetings as may be necessary to carry out its functions.

l) To establish, either upon its own initiation or upon request, such committees on special topics as may be desirable. When establishing such committees on special topics, the Committee on Program shall also determine definitely the term of service of the committee on a special topic and such other regulations as to frequency of meeting, number of sessions at any Annual Meeting, and so forth as may be desirable.

3. *Committee on Time and Place.*—There shall be a Committee on Time and Place which shall be composed of twenty-one members to be selected by the Executive Committee, seven each year for a term of three years. In the year 1938 twenty-one members shall be selected, of whom seven shall be chosen to serve for three years, seven for two years, and seven for one year. Thereafter, the Executive Committee shall select seven members each year, each for a term of three years.

This committee in conjunction with the General Secretary shall stimulate invitations from acceptable cities and shall announce to each Annual Meeting the acceptable cities from which invitations have been received for the meeting two years from that date. In conjunction with the General Secretary, the committee shall be empowered to conduct inquiry and negotiations leading to the final selection of the place of the meeting.

The committee shall report its findings to the Executive Committee not later than the fourth day of the meeting, and the Executive Committee shall transmit this report to the Conference with its approval or other findings thereon. Action on the report of the Executive Committee shall be by a rising vote. The city receiving the highest vote shall be selected.

In the event of a negative vote upon the Executive Committee's recommendation, the question shall be referred back to the Executive Committee with power to act; but no selection shall be made in contravention of the vote of the Conference membership taken at such Annual Meeting. The criteria used by the Committee on Time and Place in selecting acceptable cities for places of meeting of the annual session shall be established by the Executive Committee.

4. *Committee on Resolutions.*—A Committee on Resolutions of three members shall be appointed by the President within three months after the adjournment of the Annual Meeting, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate. No final action shall be taken on any resolution involving a matter of policy at the same session at which it is reported by the Committee on Resolutions.

V. SECTIONS

a) The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under sections, of which the following shall be continuous: (I) Social Case Work; (II) Social Group Work; (III) Community Organization; (IV) Social Action.¹

¹ This should be generally defined as covering mobilization of public opinion, legislation, and public administration.

b) Other sections may be created for a period of one or more years by the Executive Committee or by the membership at the Annual Meeting, provided the proposal therefor shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee. All sections shall be reconsidered by the Executive Committee at intervals of not more than five years and recommendations for such modifications as may be desirable presented at the Annual Meeting for action by the Conference membership.

c) Each continuous section shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine members nominated one year in advance and elected by the same method as the officers and Executive Committee of the Conference. One third of the members of the section committee shall be elected each year to serve terms of three years each. Persons nominated for officers or section committee members should, so far as possible, be members of the Conference or on the staffs or boards of member agencies. No person shall serve on more than one section committee. So far as possible, related professional groups shall have representation on section committees.

d) Each other section not continuous shall be in charge of a committee appointed by the Executive Committee, or, if created by the membership, in such manner as the membership shall determine at the Annual Meeting.

e) Each section shall have power to arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee upon recommendation by the Conference Program Committee.

f) Each section shall annually nominate one year in advance a chairman and vice chairman to be elected by the same method as the officers and Executive Committee of the Conference. Their chairman may be re-elected once. The section committee shall each year elect a section secretary.

g) Vacancies in the section committee shall be filled at the Annual Meeting in the same manner as the election of new members. Vacancies in the office of chairman or secretary between meetings shall be filled by the section committee, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

h) The Conference Executive Committee shall have general supervision over the work of all section committees with the final power to pass on all programs, in order to insure the harmonious conduct of all parts of the work.

VI. ASSOCIATE GROUPS

Independent associations may arrange with the National Conference Executive Committee for meetings to be held immediately before or during the Annual Meeting of the National Conference. The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary from time to time for such meetings.

VII. SUBMISSION OF QUESTIONS

Any section or group desiring to submit any question to the Conference shall present it to the Executive Committee for preliminary consideration, at least twenty-four hours before the final adjournment of the Conference, and the Executive Committee shall report on such questions with its recommendation before final adjournment.

VIII. BUSINESS SESSIONS

At the Annual Meeting at least one session shall be held at which only matters of business shall be considered. The time of this session shall be announced in the last issue of the *Bulletin* preceding the meeting. The officers of the Conference shall endeavor to concentrate on this occasion as much as possible of the business of the Conference.

Any person may vote at any Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, provided (1) that he is a member in good standing at the time of such meeting, and (2) that he was a member in good standing at the last preceding Annual Meeting. However, if he was not in good standing at the time of such meeting by reason of nonpayment of dues, then subsequent payment of such dues shall satisfy the requirements of this subsection.

Any institutional member, or any institution which is a contributing member as defined in Article I of these By-Laws, may cast its vote at any Annual Meeting of the Conference by designating any member of its board or staff who shall appear personally to cast the said ballot.

IX. VOTING QUORUM

At any business session, fifty members shall constitute a quorum.

X. SECTION MEETINGS

All meetings of the Conference except general sessions shall be arranged so as to facilitate informal discussion. The chairmen of sections shall preside at the meetings of their sections or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

XI. MINUTES

A certified copy of the minutes of the business transactions of the Annual Meeting, except official documents, shall be posted by the General Secretary on the official bulletin board at least three hours before the final meeting of each annual session, in order that the said minutes may be corrected by the Conference, if any question of accuracy be raised before adjournment.

XII. LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS

All local arrangements for the Annual Meetings shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

XIII. NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

1. The Committee on Nominations shall have the function of nominating one or more persons for each of the officers of President, First Vice President, Second Vice President, and Third Vice President, and at least twice as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies in that body. It shall also have the function of nominating one or more persons for the offices of chairman and vice chairman and at least twice as many persons as are to be elected for the committee of each constitutional section of the Conference. It shall further have the function of nominating at least twice as many persons as there are vacancies in the Committee on Nominations.

2. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the Committee on Nominations by any members of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment and up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

3. Within ninety days of its appointment, the Committee on Nominations shall, through the *Bulletin*, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding *Bulletin* up to the time of announcing the list of nominations. It shall use such other means of soliciting an expression of opinion from Conference members relative to proposed nominations as it deems feasible. The committee shall appoint a place at or near headquarters on the first day of the Annual Meeting and shall announce the same, at which suggestions for nominations shall be received by them up to 1:00 P.M. of the fourth day of the Annual Meeting.

4. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference members, but not necessarily confining their consideration to these names, the committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and the same shall be announced at the general session on the evening of the sixth day of the Conference one year in advance of the Conference at which they are to be elected. The list of nominees shall be published in the next succeeding issue of the Conference *Bulletin* following the announcement.

5. Additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than twenty-five members, properly addressed to the chairman of the Nominating Committee and filed at the Conference office not later than January 1, preceding the Conference at which they are to be elected.

6. A final list of all nominations shall be published in the first issue of the Conference *Bulletin* published after January 1.

7. The official ballot shall be sent by mail, to their address of record in the Conference office, to all members of the Conference entitled to vote, or who may become entitled to vote, by the renewal of membership or otherwise, not later than sixty days before the date designated each year for the closing of the polls.

Ballots may be returned by mail to the Conference office but must be

received in said office not later than the tenth day preceding the announced date of the first session of the annual Conference; or they may be deposited at the registration desk provided at Conference headquarters, at any time during the period which said registration desk is officially open, but not later than the end of the third day of the Conference. Ballots returned by mail must be signed by the voter, and shall be discarded as invalid if received without such signature.

8. The President shall appoint a committee of three tellers to whom the General Secretary shall turn over all ballots cast by mail as provided in Section 7 of By-Law XIII. The General Secretary shall at the close of the registration desk at the end of the third day of the Conference turn over to the Committee of Tellers all ballots that shall have been filed at the registration desk as provided in said Section 7. The ballots shall be counted by the tellers and the result shall be announced at the next general session of the Conference. Election shall be by a majority of the ballots cast.

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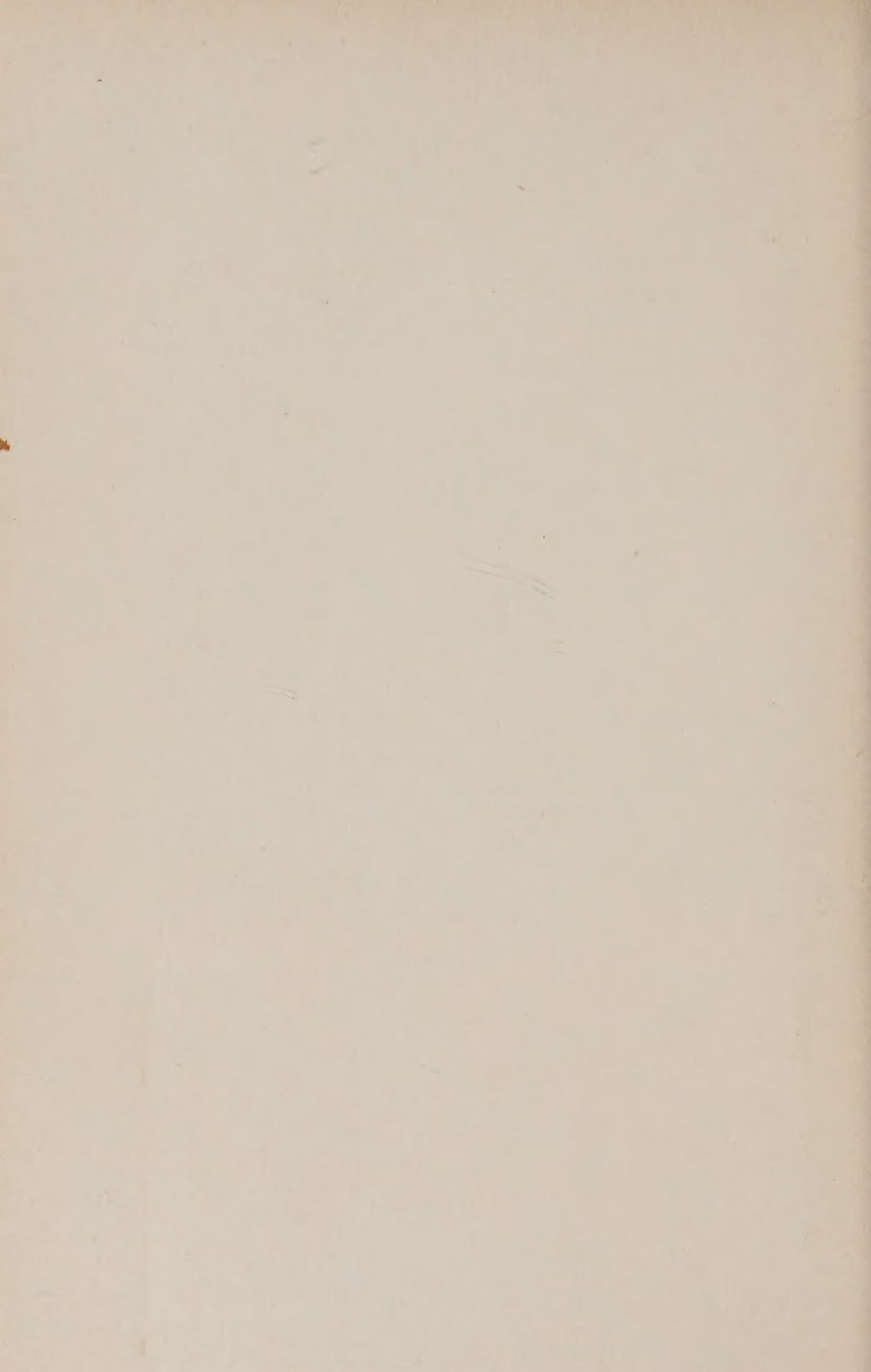
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